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**The Passion of St Katherine of Alexandria:
studies in its texts and tradition**

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PhD 2006



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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a study of the *Vulgate*-Passion of St Katherine of Alexandria. After a thorough examination of the text and its earliest manuscripts, I conclude that it was written in Northern France/the Lowlands, within a radius of 170km from Corbie. The likely period of composition is c. 900–1052/1087, which situates the *Vulgate*-author in the context of the monastic revival in Normandy.

In chapter one I concentrate on the Greek texts of Katherine's Passion. I draw together all the literary evidence that is available for Katherine's Passion and cult. A hymn in honour of Katherine, written c. 800-850, furnishes a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the main Greek text of her Passion. Parallels with other hagiographical texts suggest that it could originate from Syria/Palestine. In chapter two I look at how Katherine's Passion arrived in Normandy, and point to a text that could have served as a model for the *Vulgate*. I also explore the relationships between the Greek and Latin texts, and conclude that a now lost version could be the reason for the many, otherwise inexplicable, parallels between them. In chapter three I focus on the diction and literary sources of the *Vulgate*. On the basis of rare and vernacular-coloured words I locate the origin of the *Vulgate* in northern France/the Lowlands. Further, I demonstrate how the *Vulgate*-author made use of three literary sources: Ambrose Autpert's *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum*, the anonymous *Consultationes Zacchei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi*, and Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem*. In chapter four I examine the earliest manuscripts of the *Vulgate*. Their provenance supports the conclusion that the *Vulgate* originates from northern France/the Lowlands, and was written in the period between c. 900 and 1052/87. I also present an up-to-date checklist of the 250+ extant manuscripts of the *Vulgate* (and its epitomes). In chapter five I present an edition of the *Vulgate*-epitome BHL 1661m. One of its witnesses, contrary to the generally-held assumption that saints' Lives shrink progressively with time, shows that growth in the other direction was also possible.



Fig. 1: Ornamental band from the life of St Katherine

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It is a great pleasure for me to thank my research supervisor Carlotta Dionisotti, without whose constant encouragement, advice and generosity I would not have been able to carry through this project. Her interest and joy at ever-more discoveries spurred me on, even when the mass of manuscripts and material seemed overwhelming at many stages during the years. She has been an inspiring teacher, who gave me the freedom to explore and make mistakes, but always ready to help me gather up the pieces.

The staff of the Classics Department at King's College have been unreserved in their support of my studies. I would like to express my thanks in particular to David Ganz, Judith Herrin, Catherine Morgan, and Charlotte Roueché. My fellow-saints Louise Jenkinson and Eleonora Litta-Modignani often came to the rescue, and Nikoletta Farkas shared moments of joy and trepidation. My former colleagues at the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* received me into their midst with open arms, and provided much help and friendship during the early stages of the project. David Howlett in particular answered many of my questions.

I am very grateful to Jessica Bloom, Louise Jenkinson, and Carolinne White who read and commented on chapters of this thesis. Above all, Susanne Hakenbeck has been an amazing friend, who provided moral support when the going was rough. Christine Walsh generously shared her work with me, while Julian Harrison helped with the dating of manuscripts. Nigel Palmer and Stephen Mossman assisted in unravelling the mystery of a manuscript at Koblenz. Stacey Graham has been a rich source of knowledge for the transmission of manuscripts. I thank Nancy Patterson's Ševčenko's, who allowed me to read her article on St Katherine and Sinai long before it appeared in print. In France I benefited greatly from talks with François Dolbeau, Monique Goullet, Pierre Petitmengin, and Patricia Stirnemann. Cécile Lanery has been my faithful Paris-contact for precious manuscript information and bibliography. Paolo Chiesa kindly added a number of manuscripts to my checklist. Patir Agathangelos (Mt Athos, Simonos Petra) made possible pictures of three beautiful miniatures from manuscripts kept on Mt Athos. Esther Teichmann and Ephraim Mwakandu were indispensable when it came to the manipulation of pictures and maps.

I would like to thank the Bollandists for providing me with a photocopy of their original index-cards for BHL 1663 and 1663a. During a visit to their library I came across Guy Philippart, who immediately whisked me off for dinner with his family, and who gave me much to think about during our talks of St Katherine. It is not invidious to single out from many helpful librarians Alun Ford (Palaeography Room, UofL), the staff at the IRHT in Paris, A. Buchmayer (Herzogenburg), Dr Heinz Ristory (Klosterneuburg), Mag. P. Michael Eppenschwandtner OSB (Melk), and Rudolf Lindpointner (Linz).

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My Greek grandfather would have liked the idea that the *megalomartyr* Katherine shared my life for so many years. Sadly, only my German grandmother will hear about the outcome. She, along with the rest of my family, especially my parents and my brother, patiently and generously supported my interests and relentless focus on manuscripts. As a consequence, they heard more about Katherine and saw less of me than they would have liked to.



Fig. 2: *Sancta Katherina virgo*, pastedown inside front-cover, Melk Stiftsbibliothek 516, s. xivⁱⁿ, prov. Lower Austria (?). Contents: Sermons by Berthold of Regensburg, Conrad Holtzner, Ps.-Conrad of Höxter, Wilhelm of Mund; *Stella Clericorum*. Belonged to Ortolfus, a presbyter from Großrußbach, a small town just north of Vienna, before he gave it to Melk. See Glaßner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk* (2000), p. 215-27.

Errata

3.24	<i>for</i> Patterson's Ševčenko's <i>read</i> Patterson Ševčenko
5.12	<i>for</i> legendary <i>read</i> Legendary
5.22	<i>for</i> and Passion <i>read</i> and his Passion
9.2.14	<i>for</i> Repertorium Hymnologicum <i>read</i> Répertoire topo-bibliographique

Introduction

15.13	<i>for</i> his <i>read</i> the author's
15.n.7.3	<i>for</i> 100 <i>read</i> one
16.7	<i>for</i> these <i>read</i> the
18.n.16.8-9	<i>for</i> id. <i>read</i> ead.
22.1	<i>for</i> year's <i>read</i> years
26.7	<i>for</i> not to present <i>read</i> chose not to present
29.6	<i>insert</i> (1927) <i>after</i> hagiographiques
31.n.73.2	<i>for</i> Weiters <i>read</i> Weiteres
31.n.76.5	<i>for</i> dürfte <i>read</i> dürfte
33.6	<i>for</i> texts, texts <i>read</i> texts,
35.n.85	<i>for</i> Orbán <i>read</i> Orbán, <i>Vitae Sanctae Katharinae</i> (1992),

Chapter 1

50.18	<i>for</i> where <i>read</i> were
50.n.54.1	<i>for</i> essay <i>read</i> essai
50.n.54.4	<i>for</i> on <i>read</i> un
56.n.78.2	<i>for</i> xi ^e -xvii ^e <i>read</i> xi ^e -xvii ^e
56.n.78.4	<i>for</i> mentions <i>read</i> mentioned
64.7	<i>for</i> tenth <i>read</i> the tenth
64.n.118.2	<i>for</i> if <i>read</i> is
70.1	<i>for</i> 1100 <i>read</i> 1000

Chapter 2

71.3	<i>for</i> The relationship between the two <i>read</i> Their relationship
71.10	<i>for</i> these <i>read</i> the
83.10	<i>for</i> monasticism <i>read</i> monasticism
84.9	<i>for</i> of <i>read</i> the one written by
89.2.4	<i>insert</i> of Katherine <i>after</i> Passion
91.26	<i>for</i> the Peter's <i>read</i> Peter's
92.22	<i>delete</i> do
92.25	<i>for</i> 40 <i>read</i> four
94.20	<i>for</i> Katherine <i>read</i> Katherine's Life
97.n.92.3	<i>for</i> manuscripts <i>read</i> manuscript
100.11	<i>for</i> Desiderius <i>read</i> Desiderius'
102.8	<i>for</i> Αικατερινα <i>read</i> Αικατερίνα
108.11	<i>for</i> ἀβάτω <i>read</i> ἀβάτω
108.15	<i>for</i> οὕτως <i>read</i> οὕτως
111.8	<i>for</i> ρητορικὴν <i>read</i> ῥητορικὴν

Errata

111.12	<i>for τα read τε</i>
111.14	<i>for Ἰαννοῦ read Ἰαννοῦ</i>
111.16	<i>for ρητόρων read ῥητόρων</i>
112.2.8	<i>for stulli read stulti</i>
113.5	<i>for the marginal read marginal</i>
114.n.164	<i>for Comunale read Communale</i>
115.1	<i>for Like read As; for the temptation read it is very tempting</i>
115.2	<i>delete is very tempting</i>
117.12	<i>for as their read as to their</i>
118.3	<i>for translates read adapts</i>

Chapter 3

129.16	<i>for weaved read wove</i>
130.8	<i>for oprrimet read opprimet</i>
132.13	<i>for were read are</i>
132.19	<i>delete in part</i>
133.n.58	<i>for iniquiam read iniquam</i>
134.2-3	<i>delete I offer .. identity'.</i>
137.12	<i>for which read that</i>
137.12	<i>for form read forms</i>
139.n.74.1	<i>for edited read used</i>
145.14	<i>for coronoas read coronas</i>
147.26	<i>add Here the prologue begins after begin.</i>
153.4	<i>for history read Histories</i>
155.10-14	<i>adjust font size to 11 pt</i>
157.16-17	<i>adjust font size to 11 pt</i>
158.n.130.2	<i>for aelis read caelis</i>
160.29	<i>for be that read be that the</i>
169.26	<i>for interere read interfere</i>
177.5	<i>for questions read question</i>
182.6	<i>delete ones</i>
182.n.151	<i>for iv^e read iv^e</i>
183.18	<i>for of CZA read of the CZA</i>
183.n.156	<i>for Feiertag, Etude d'histoire read Ibid.</i>
183.n.158	<i>for Lawson read A.C. Lawson, 'Consultationes'</i>
184.14	<i>for departements read départements</i>
186.n.170 & 171	<i>for Achoff read Aschoff</i>
187.1.3	<i>for oratine read oratione</i>
192.5	<i>for histories read Histories</i>
192.15	<i>for enable read enables</i>
192.n.180	<i>for Mombritius read Mombritius'</i>
192.n.181.1	<i>italicize Menologium Basilianum</i>
193.12	<i>for is that of the read here given is that of</i>
193.14	<i>for survives read survives in the</i>
195.34	<i>for Dobsons' read Dobson's</i>
195.38	<i>for Vulgate-author read Vulgate-authors'</i>

Errata

- 197.5 *for of read of the*
197.n.191.1 *insert I. van't Spijker before 'Gallia*

Chapter 4

- 215.2 *for particularly read particular*
217.2 *for could that read could be that*
219.4 *for shorter read 'shorter' shorter*
220.24 *for misti read misit*
239.10 *for Paris lat. read Paris lat. 5343*
244.2 *for natalis read natali*

Chapter 5

- 258.17 *for 1125 read 1125-50*
258.20 *for eleventh read twelfth*
258.22 *for twelfth read thirteenth*
259.21 *for questions read question*
265.18 *for commtus read commotus*
267.7 *for rules read ruling*
267.11 *for second occurrence of Pavia read Vercelli*
267.16 *for Bernardinum de Garaldis read Bernardino de Garaldi*
270.16 *for work read manuscript*
272.2 *for records records read records*
272.2 *for manuscripts read other manuscripts*
323.9-11 *italicize In response .. tyrannical orders*
323.14-15 *italicise on .. November*

Conclusion

- 335.5 *for saints read saints'*
337.1 *for saints lives read saints' Lives*

Appendix III

- 361.18 *for it read the prologue*

Appendix IV

- 378.16 *for sitting read are sitting*
379.20 *for ground-line read ground-lines*
379.23 *for emphasis read emphasize*

Bibliography

- 380.9 *for Biography read Biography (OUP, 2006).*
382.6 *for Lateinische read Lateinisches*
383.4 *for Bréviaries read Bréviaires*
384.28 *delete p. 171-176*
386.14 *delete p. 79*
389.13 *for Katherinae read Katharinae*
389.13 *for Brepols read Brepols, 1992*

Errata

390.13	<i>for Amborose read Ambrose</i>
391.6	<i>for Geneviè read Geneviève</i>
391.17	<i>for Chretiennes read Chrétiennes</i>
394.23	<i>for Chretiennes read Chrétiennes</i>
396.12	<i>for Fecamp read Fécamp</i>
396.13	<i>for medievale read médiévale</i>
406.16	<i>for x^{ie} read x^e</i>
409.23	<i>for a read à</i>

Add the following:

-- to Primary Sources, Other

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List of Abbreviations

fol. = folio; fol. 214 = recto; fol. 214v = verso; a & b indicate columns.

AASS = Acta Sanctorum

AAT = Atti della Accademia delle
Scienze di Torino

AB = Analecta Bollandiana

ALBK = Allgemeines Lexikon der
bildenden Künstler

AnNor = Annales de Normandie

APS = American Philosophical Society

ArDip = Archiv für Diplomatik

ASE = Anglo-Saxon England

BBK = Biographisch-Bibliographisches
Kirchenlexikon

BHG = Bibliotheca Hagiographica
Graeca

BHL = Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina

BHL online = searchable database of the
BHL

BHO = Bibliotheca Hagiographica
Orientalis

BIHR = Bulletin of the Institute of
Historical Research

BJRLM = Bulletin of the John Rylands
Library Manchester

BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek
Studies

ByzF = Byzantinische Forschungen

ByzZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift

CC = Corpus Christianorum

CM = Continuatio Medievalis

SL = Series Latina

CALMA = Compendium Auctorum
Latinorum Medii Aevi

CE = The Coptic Encyclopedia

CLA = Codices Latini Antiquiores

Chron. Cas. = Chronica Monasterii
Casinensis

Cottineau = Repertorium
Hymnologicum

CQ = Classical Quarterly

DHGE = Dictionnaire d'histoire et de
géographie ecclesiastiques

Dob. (foll. by a line number) =

Dobon's edition of the *Vulgate* in
Seinte Katerine (1981).

CSc = Cultura e Scuola

DNP = Der Neue Pauly

DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers

EETS = Early English Text Society
 EO = Échos d'Orient
 FS = Franziskanische Studien
 HJ = Historisches Jahrbuch
 IMU = Italia medioevale e umanistica
 IRHT = Institut de Recherche et
 d'Histoire des Textes
 JRS = Journal of Roman Studies
 JThS = The Journal of Theological
 Studies
 LibAn = Liber Annus
 LMA = Lexikon des Mittelalters
 LTK = Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
 MGH = Monumenta Germaniae
 Historica
 AA = Auctores Antiquissimi
 Poetae = Poetae Latini medii aevi
 SS = Scriptores
 SSRG = scriptores rerum
 Germanicarum
 SSRM = scriptores rerum
 merovingicarum
 MMPMR = Münchener Museum für
 Philologie des Mittelalters und
 der Renaissance
 MS = Mediaeval Studies
 NPM = Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
 OC = Oriens Christianus
 OCA = Orientalia Christiana

ODB = Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
 ODCC = Oxford Dictionary of the
 Christian Church
 ODS = Oxford Dictionary of Saints
 Pauly-Wissowa = Paulys Real-
 Encyclopädie der classischen
 Altertumswissenschaft
 PBE = Prosopography of the Byzantine
 Empire
 PG = Patrologia Graeca
 PL = Patrologia Latina
 QC = Quaderni Catanesi
 RA = Recherches Augustiniennes
 RBen = Revue Bénédictine
 RES = The Review of English Studies
 RH = Chevalier, *Repertorium*
 Hymnologicum
 RHR = Revue de l'histoire des religions
 RHT = Revue d'histoire des textes
 RQH = Revue des questions historiques
 ScrCiv = Scrittura e Civiltà
 SE = Sacris Erudiri
 StudMed = Studi Medievali
 StudMon = Studia Monastica
 T&MByz = Travaux et mémoires du
 Centre de recherche d'histoire et
 civilisation byzantines

Libraries

AC San Pietro = Archivio del
Capitolo di S. Pietro

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana

BB = Burgerbibliothek

Bib. Boll. = Bibliotheca Bollandiana

BC = Biblioteca Comunale

BCap = Biblioteca Capitolare

BColl = Biblioteca Collegiata

BCU = Bibliothèque Centrale
Universitaire

BL = British Library

BM = Bibliothèque Municipale

BNC = Biblioteca Nazionale
Centrale

BNF = Bibliothèque Nationale de
France

BP = Bibliothèque Publique

BR = Bibliothèque Royale

BS = Biblioteca del Seminario
Teologico, Seminarbibliothek

BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

CBR = Centrale Bibliotheek der
Rijksuniversiteit

CCC = Corpus Christi College

Chapt. = Archives du Vénérable
Chapitre

(*Bischöfl.*) *DomB* = (Bischöfliche)
Dombibliothek

FM = Bibliothèque de la Faculté de
Médecine

F&LB = Forschungs- und
Landesbibliothek

GHB = Gesamthochschulbibliothek

HA = Historisches Archiv

HAB = Herzog-August-Bibliothek

HULB = Hessische Universitäts- und
Landesbibliothek

KB = Koninklijke Bibliotheek

KMK = Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli

LHA = Landeshauptarchiv

MA = Musée Archéologique

MAN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale

NKCR = Národní Knihovna České
Republiky

NLW = National Library of Wales

OLB = Oberlandesbibliothek

ÖNB = Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek

OSK = Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár

SB = Staatsbibliothek

SBPK = Staatsbibliothek Preussischer
Kulturbesitz

StaB = Stadtbibliothek/Steedelijke
Bibliotheek

Sta & UB = Stadts- und
Universitätsbibliothek

StiB = Stiftsbibliothek

UB = Universitätsbibliothek,
Bibliothèque Universitaire

UL = University Library

WLB = Württembergische
Landesbibliothek

ZB = Zentralbibliothek



Fig. 3: Maxentius



Fig. 4: St Katherine

INTRODUCTION

After years of slowly gathering momentum and with a trajectory taking her from Byzantium across the Mediterranean to Italy, St Katherine of Alexandria reached Normandy in the first half of the eleventh century. She arrived with a bang that was to reverberate across Europe in the following centuries, making her one of the most popular saints of the Middle Ages. This was made possible in part by an account of her Passion, commonly referred to as the *Vulgate*, which clearly captured the imagination of her devotees. It has all the hallmarks of good hagiographical writing: a young, beautiful and educated orphan comes face to face with an evil and misguided tyrant, Maxentius. He forces her into a public debate and thus affords her the opportunity to vanquish by her argument alone fifty of the most gifted philosophers. However, Maxentius, blinded by pride and pagan wickedness, does not accept Katherine's victory and subjects her to numerous punishments culminating in her death.¹ By the time of her decapitation, and

¹ Contrary to common belief, Katherine was never martyred on the infamous wheels, but only placed next to them in an attempt to threaten her. At the same time, she is generally the saint

to the intense displeasure of the tyrant, a great number of important protagonists have converted to the Christian faith, while thousands have suffered for clinging to their heathen gods.

Who wrote this text and where did he get his inspiration? Why did he write it, where and when? It may, of course, not be possible to answer any of these questions, or only some of them. Nevertheless, the exercise imposes itself, not least in view of the increased interest in Katherine in recent years.² While there has been great progress in examining the vernacular accounts of her Passion,³ the *Vulgate* – from which many of them derive – has enjoyed little attention, along with the extant corpus of Greek and Latin texts. The Greek texts, in particular, have been neglected after a brief flurry of activity at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, despite the fact that they represent the earliest accounts of Katherine's Passion. Current misconceptions among medieval historians concerned with Katherine's cult today include the following statement:

In the early 960s Simon Metaphrastes wrote a Greek life of the saint, generally held to be the earliest extant version; it is from this life that most later Latin versions trace their descent. Several other lives of St Katherine were written in Greek in the later tenth century, the most famous of which is

one thinks of in connection with wheels, although they are not unique to her story. They also occur, for example, in the Passions of Charitina, Christina of Bolsena, Euphemia of Chalcedon, George of Cappadocia, Iuliana of Nicomedia, and Pantaleon. See the index in vol. 2 of Boninus Mombritius' *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. Monachi Solesmenses (1910), s.v. *rota*.

² See for example *St. Katherine of Alexandria: texts and contexts in Western medieval Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins & Katherine J. Lewis (2003). Reviewed by F. De Vriendt in *AB* 123 (2005), 202-06; Katherine J. Lewis, *The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in late medieval England* (2000). Recent doctoral dissertations completed in North America include: Stacey Erin Kaplan, 'Marriage, motherhood, and St. Catherine of Alexandria: Painting domestic values in the Veneto' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 2003); Peter J. Burgess, 'La Passion de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie: Une édition critique du texte contenu dans le manuscrit 3645 de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1994).

³ An indication of the sorts of angles from which Katherine has been studied in the past can be gleaned from the bibliography on Katherine in *BBK*, s.v. Katharina. See also Anna Maria Valente Bacci, 'La leggenda di S. Caterina di Alessandria: fonti e diffusione nell'area linguistica tedesca', *CSc* 25 (1986), p. 87.

that contained in the *Menologium Basilianum* written for the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025).⁴

As we shall see, none of this is true.⁵ The preoccupation of scholars with the Katherine corpus and cult from the eleventh century onwards has obscured the fact that there is a significant amount of material from the earlier period, not all of which is as tenuous as has been assumed in the past.⁶

Two scholars have prepared editions of the *Vulgate*, not as an end in itself but subordinate to their main interest, the Middle English version of Katherine's Passion.⁷ This has left the field open for a more intensive treatment of the text in terms of its literacy, but also as regards its transmission. Which are the oldest manuscripts, where do they come from, and how does the *Vulgate* differ from other Latin accounts of Katherine's Passion? Can one determine a text (or texts) that served as a model, and does this allow us an insight into his purpose?

In order to arrive at a greater understanding of the early textual corpus concerning Katherine as well as of the *Vulgate*, I have divided this study into a number of chapters, each of which is followed by a timeline of the most significant dates as regards the textual corpus of Katherine. In the first chapter I bring together all extant written material in Greek and seek to place it within a historical context so as to clarify, as far as possible, the emergence of Katherine's cult and its early development. In chapter two I take as my starting point the arrival of Katherine's cult in Normandy, in order to see how far this was connected to the diffusion of the other Latin texts, which

⁴ So the *Introduction to St. Katherine of Alexandria*, ed. Jenkins & Lewis (2003), p. 7-8.

⁵ See chapter 2.

⁶ A step towards remedying this situation is Christine Walsh's thesis on the early cult of St Katherine, 'The early development of the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria with particular reference to England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2003). While it broaches a number of important questions, this study does not pursue the genesis of the textual corpus to a fuller picture or more satisfying conclusion than that reached by Bronzini, 'La leggenda'.

⁷ Eugen Eickenel, *The Life of Sainte Katherine from the Royal Ms. 17A xxvii, etc., with its Latin Original from the Cotton MS. Caligula A. viii, etc.: edited with introduction, notes, and glossary* (1884). Almost 100 hundred years later S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne & E.J. Dobson published an edition of the *Vulgate* (based on 20+ manuscripts) in *Seinte Katerine: re-edited from MS Bodley 34 and the other manuscripts* (1981).

were a product of south Italy in the main. In chapter three I concentrate on the compositional aspects of the *Vulgate* – the only text among the early Latin Passions of Katherine to have been written outside of Italy – and seek to place it within an historical and geographical framework. In chapter four I examine the manuscript tradition of the *Vulgate*, and provide a sketch of how it gave rise to a number of epitomes. I also include a check-list of *Vulgate*-manuscripts as far as I have been able to find them. Chapter five is concerned entirely with the edition of one of these epitomes. In the conclusion I bring together all my findings and suggest further avenues for exploration.

The principal method of investigation for this study has been the close scrutiny of manuscripts as regards their date and provenance as evidence for the origin of Katherine's cult and its progress across the Mediterranean. Alongside data from the manuscripts I have tried to gather as much information as possible for the historical context in which the various texts were written and/or circulated. Due to the wealth of material, the footnotes are richer and therefore more complex than initially expected. I have, however, chosen to keep them as they are because they allow the reader a more thorough understanding of how I have traced material, and in many cases bring together information otherwise not available in this form.

In the following pages I trace the fortunes of the *Vulgate*, from its first printing in 1476 until 1981, when it could finally boast an edition based on more than just one or two manuscripts.⁸

⁸ I have not included here the Greek texts (see chapter 1), or the other Latin versions (see chapter 2). There was no space to consider the many other literary compositions in Latin that Katherine inspired (such as hymns, poems, plays, sermons, lectures, etc.), nor the many vernacular versions, which fall outside the limits of this thesis. Katherine's historicity was a topic that kept many theologians busy. For an overview see Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der Heiligen Katharina von Alexandrien und der Heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca, nebst unedirten Texten* (1890), p. 187-92.

Roughly twenty years after Gutenberg pioneered the printing press with movable types at Mainz in the 1450s, the first printed edition of the Vulgate appeared in 1476 from the Cologne workshop of Johann Koehlhoff the Elder.⁹ In this print the author of the *Vulgate* is given as Rabanus Maurus, and the title as *Historia S. Catherinae*,¹⁰ so that the entry for the *Vulgate* (otherwise referred to as BHL 1663) in the 1986-edition of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, novum supplementum* reads: *Passio (interdum Rabano Mauro adscripta)*.¹¹

Why this text should have been attributed to Rabanus is not quite clear (although misattributions to him are quite frequent): he himself did not know of Katherine or her story, as he does not include her in his Martyrology.¹² It is possible, however, that perhaps the manuscript used by Koehlhoff identified its author as Rabanus, although he does not indicate from what source he prints the text. In Cologne there are now four fifteenth-century manuscripts with a Cologne-provenance that contain the *Vulgate*; I have not had the opportunity to check these manuscripts personally, though this would be a first step in determining how the attribution to Rabanus might have occurred.¹³

⁹ Koehlhoff was one of Cologne's most important printers in the early stages of printing. Born in Lübeck, he worked in Venice and came to Cologne in 1471. He printed canon and civil law books for the University, and sold his books as far as the Baltic. From the 1480s onwards, professors from the University also gave their works to him (and Quentel) for printing. His son, Koehlhoff the Younger, printed saints' legends (such as Margaret, Barbara, Katharina, Dorothea and last but not least Ursula). Both printed a large number of texts in German. See Wolfgang Schmitz, *500 Jahre Buchtradition in Köln: von der Koehlhoffschen Chronik bis zu den Neuen Medien* (1999), p. 18.

¹⁰ In a copy at the BL (call-mark IB.3501, p. g3) the title that precedes the Katherine text reads: *Dive virginis sancte Katherine historia seu eiusdem passionis series Rabbani abbat. rei geste persuavis oratio eloquentie splendori plurimum alludens adminiculo. omnium cognitu et lectione fragrancissima*. The text includes the prologue.

¹¹ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: novum supplementum*, ed. H. Fros (1986) [henceforth BHL]. Each saint's life carries its own BHL number, within an alphabetical arrangement according to the names of the saints.

¹² Katherine only appears as a 12th/13th-cent. marginal entry, see *Martyrologium Rabani Mauri*, ed. John McCulloh (1979), p. xxxvii-xxxix.

¹³ The catalogue entries do not mention Rabanus as a possible author, see J. Vennebusch, *Die homiletischen und hagiographischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln*, vols 1 & 2 (1993-2001).

In Koehlhoff's edition, the Vulgate is preceded by a *Passio Jesu Christi necnon alius tractatus de Christi passione, sive Collectura* by a Johannes Kannemann. The combination is not obvious, so one may wonder if there was some connection in Koehlhoff's source. Kannemann was a Franciscan preacher with a doctorate in theology from the University of Erfurt. He became the *magister regens* at Magdeburg and a lector of theology in Berlin during the 1450s. In 1458 he was appointed inquisitor for the diocese of Berlin, and in 1461 was *visitor regiminis* of several monasteries in Magdeburg. These included the monasteries of Magdeburg and Halle, probably also the monasteries of Görlitz and Frankfurt a.d. Oder. Of Kannemann's various ascetic and polemic works, including sermons, the *Passio Jesu Christi* is the only one that was printed.¹⁴

We do not know whether Kannemann was still alive by the time his treatise was printed by Koehlhoff in 1476; neither do we know why it was followed by the Passion of St Katherine.¹⁵ This could have been a decision taken either by the printer or by the author himself. As a theologian and preacher it is likely that Kannemann had heard of Katherine, who by this time was also 'circulating' as part of the highly successful *Legenda Aurea*.¹⁶ There is at least one fifteenth-century manuscript from Braunschweig (and another fifteenth-century manuscript now in Hildesheim), as well as an earlier manuscript from Chemnitz that preserve the *Vulgate*, but it would be no more than guesswork to suppose that he may have seen these manuscripts.¹⁷ Short of a detailed

¹⁴ These and more details in P. Livarius Oliger O.F.M., 'Johannes Kannemann: ein deutscher Franziskaner aus dem 15. Jahrhundert', *FS* 5 (1918), 39-67.

¹⁵ As far as I can tell there are no obvious or immediate parallels (e.g. borrowing of phrases and the like) between the two texts.

¹⁶ In Germany, Katherine was certainly used as an example in sermons from the central Middle Ages onwards, see D.L. d'Avray, 'Katherine of Alexandria and Mass Communication in Germany: woman as intellectual', in Nicole Bériou & David L. d'Avray, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (1994), 401-08. On Katherine's Passion in Germany see Bruce A. Beatie, 'Saint Katharine of Alexandria: traditional themes and the development of a medieval German Hagiographic Narrative', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 785-800; Anna Maria Valente Bacci, 'Sviluppo e diffusione della *Passio* di S. Caterina di Alessandria nell'area Tedesca Medievale', *QC* 12 (1984), 435-463; Id., 'Testi in Volgare', *Quaderni Catanesi* 12 (1985), 77-134; Id., 'La leggenda di S. Caterina di Alessandria: fonti e diffusione nell'area linguistica tedesca', *CSc* 25 (1986), 75-87 with bibliography.

¹⁷ Wolfenbüttel HAB Helmst. 396; Hildesheim Bischöfl. DomBib. 749f; Leipzig UB lat. 436, s. xiii.

study of Kannemann's life and works, as well as the output of the Koehlhoff workshop, the answer to the question of why these two works were joined remains elusive.

Both Kannemann's *Passio* and that of Katherine were reprinted first by Peter Wagner of Nuremberg (fl. 1483- c. 1500) and then at an unidentified workshop in Basle in 1500.¹⁸

The comparative silence as regards St Katherine and the *Vulgate* during the next 150 years or so is partly due to the Reformation. The ensuing theological but also political and social upheavals included the rejection of saints, so that it is perhaps not surprising to find very little biographical material on Katherine, or the *Vulgate* during this period. A quotation from Calvin (1509-65) may perhaps serve as an example of the kind of view taken of saints by reformers:

Multa porro sunt templa Catharinae dedicata vel Christophoro vel aliis fictitiis nominibus. Catharinae aut Christophori precibus ut juvetur plebs hujus loci a Domino postulabit. Itane cum Deo ludetur ut qui nulli unquam fuerunt obtrudantur ad Deum exorandum patroni? Talibus monstris, qui fomenta suppeditant, gustumne aliquem unquam habuisse credendi sunt seriae sinceraeque Dei invocationis?¹⁹

A little less than a century later, the Italian Costantino Gaetano (1560-1650) can be seen almost as a forerunner to the Bollandists.²⁰ He was the custodian of the Vatican Library, hence with free access to its vast collection of manuscripts. His writings include notes on the lives of a number of saints, such as Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Ostia.²¹ Particularly significant for the story of the *Vulgate* is a collection of saints' lives he put together, exactly when is not known, by visiting a number of libraries within easy reach of Rome, such as Monte Cassino and Rieti. When he transcribed a version of Katherine's Passion from a very old manuscript (*perantiquo*, as

¹⁸ A copy of Wagner's print at the British Library (call-mark IA.8027) was printed before 15 June 1491, see *Catalogue of Books printed in the xvth century now in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (London, 1963), p. 464. Of this book there are c. thirty copies known today. See *Illustrated Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (1994).

¹⁹ Jean Calvin, *Vera Christianae Pacificationis et Ecclesiae reformandae ratio* (Geneva, 1549), p. 174.

²⁰ Gaetano would undoubtedly have disagreed with this description, since two of his works (*Concertatio, Apologetica responsio* [Rome, 1618]; *Libellus apologeticus pro Gersen* [sic] [Rome, 1644]) were directed against Rosweyde. So the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. Cajetan.

²¹ Ibid.

he described it) he may unwittingly have preserved the sole witness to a main source of the *Vulgate*.

It is with the Bollandist enterprise, still active today, that an interest in Katherine and the corpus of texts about her resurfaced, in line with the Bollandists' aim of collecting and publishing the original sources for the lives of the saints. A witness to this interest is a seventeenth-century collection of papers referred to as *Collectanea Bollandiana* (Ms. 8955-56 at the BR in Brussels), which reunites a great number of Latin texts pertaining to Katherine.²² Detailed examination of the documents in this manuscript might reveal who had copied these texts and where. We know Bolland was inundated by information on saints' lives as soon as he conceived of the *Acta Sanctorum* and that Daniel van Papebroch went on a two-year journey to collect saints' lives in 1661.²³ However, since Katherine's feast day falls on November 25, and the *Acta Sanctorum* have yet to reach that month (and may never do so), we have to look elsewhere for a discussion of the saint and an (eventual) edition of the *Vulgate*.

The more or less unexpected 'launch pad' for this interest is to be found in nineteenth-century England, in the milieu of a number of bibliophiles and churchmen. The Abbotsford Club, an elite group of bibliophiles, was founded in 1833 one year after the death of the novelist and poet Sir Walter Scott.²⁴ In tune with the preoccupations of the Romantic Movement, a number of books published for the club centred on native folklore and old English poetry. Within the first decade of the club's foundation the Passion of St Katherine figured on its publication list.

²² Fol. 2-3: *de translatione reliquiarum S. Catherinae*; fol. 4-6v: BHL 1661m; fol. 7-8v: *de sancta Catharina* (notes); fol. 9-24: BHL 1663; fol. 25-27v: BHL 1669; fol. 28-29: BHL 1679; fol. 40: *de S. Catherina martyre Alexandrina* (notes); fol. 44-49: BHL 1679b; fol. 53-56: *nota de S. Catharina*; fol. 57-58v: BHL 1662; fol. 59-63v: *descriptio tabulae quae in sacello sanctae Catharina Greffradii pendet*; fol. 65-66b: *inventio corporis S. Catharinae*; fol. 69-68: BHL 1682; fol. 69-70: *de sancta Catharina virgine martyre* (notes); fol. 72-77v: BHL 1698 (*famosum miraculum de quodam ossiculo beatae Catharinae recenter divulgatum*); fol. 90: *de sancta Katherine virgine* (hymn). Since I discovered the potential importance of this manuscript I have not had the chance to see it again and so do not know where these transcripts come from or what manuscripts they are based on. A detailed analysis of these texts, particularly the notes, might shed more light on the transmission of Katherine's cult and associated texts (and will form part of a future revised version of this survey).

²³ David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (1963), p. 12-13.

²⁴ Who had built Abbotsford House in the later years of his life, see *ODNB*, s.v. Scott, Sir Walter.

In 1841, James Morton (*d.* 1865) – ‘vicar of Holbeach, prebendary of Lincoln, chaplain to the Right. Hon. Earl Grey’²⁵ – published an edition of Katherine’s English Passion, based on three manuscripts in the British Library.²⁶ The purpose of his work was, in Morton’s own words, the following: ‘in presenting this volume to his associates of the Abbotsford Club, the Editor will be gratified if it should be considered by them to be of any value as *a contribution towards the history of the English language and literature* [italics are mine].’²⁷ The English text is accompanied by a modern English translation as well as a glossary. In the preface Morton discussed the historical²⁸ and literary²⁹ merits of the text; he made no mention (direct or indirect) of the Latin version or manuscripts of it that he had the opportunity of knowing, since the British Museum at the time already possessed a Cotton manuscript containing the *Vulgate*.³⁰

²⁵ Frontispiece, James Morton, *The Legend of St Katherine of Alexandria: edited from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library* (1841). A little more information on Morton can be gleaned from Eikenkel’s preface to his *Saint Katherine*, p. v-vi: Morton ‘published the Memoir and Poetical Remains of Dr John Leiden, 1812; the Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, 1832; the Legend of St. Katherine, 1841, for the Abbotsford Club; and the Ancrene Riwe, 1853, for the Camden Society. The Revd. J. Morton’s knowledge of Middle English was profound, and almost surprising, if we consider the then state of English Philology. As a proof of this may be cited his translations of the Ancrene Riwe and St. Katherine, which, apart from some slight mistakes, deserve to be called exact, and are still useful.’

²⁶ Cotton Titus D.xviii (c. 1250), with readings from Royal 17.A.xxvii (1220-30), and Cotton Nero A.xiv (s. xiii). The frontispiece of this book shows a reproduction of Ms. Royal 2 B.vii (known as Queen Mary’s Psalter), fol. 283, depicting Katherine amidst breaking wheels and angels. The text begins: ‘*Constantin & Maxence / weren on a time as / in keiseres stude heh-/ est inrome. Ah constantin ferde / ...*’

²⁷ Morton, *The Legend of St Katherine*, p. xv.

²⁸ ‘it is indeed a received opinion that not a few of this class of composition are wholly fictitious; and it has been contended, not without an appearance of reason, that the story now under consideration is amongst this number’. Morton, *The Legend of St Katherine*, p. xi.

²⁹ ‘the present narrative is, indeed, remarkably free from the more gross and puerile absurdities that too often deform works of this kind. The story is told in an earnest and unaffected manner, that arrests and fixes the attention. It contains noble and generous sentiments, and exhibits examples of enduring courage and faithful piety. The spirit of the dialogue, and the interest excited by the characters and incidents, are such as might have recommended it as a fit subject for dramatic composition’. Morton, *The Legend of St Katherine*, p. xi.

³⁰ Cotton Caligula A.viii; following the fire in 1731 at Ashburnham House, a new catalogue of the Cottonian manuscripts was published in 1802, replacing that compiled by Smith in 1696.

In 1849, eight years after Morton's edition, Charles Hardwick published *An Historical Inquiry touching Saint Catherine of Alexandria*.³¹ Hardwick was the archdeacon of Ely and a fellow of St Catherine's Hall, Cambridge so that his membership of the latter explains his interest in Katherine: 'the primary design in drawing up this paper was to put in order the results of an inquiry undertaken for my own satisfaction as a member of St Catharine's Hall'.³²

Hardwick's concern was mainly with Katherine as an historical figure. He concluded his overview of treatises mentioning Katherine by saying that 'while the main features of the story are preserved throughout, we may trace a continual growth of information, - a gradual development (or deterioration) from the simpler to the florid'.³³ Subscribing to the idea of separating historical fact from fiction (as generally practised by those engaged in the study of saints at the time), he meticulously went through ancient historians and other historical records that do and do not mention Katherine,³⁴ and concluded his inquiry with the observation that 'we may hold ourselves ready to weigh any additional proofs from history, that there was in the fourth century an Alexandrian Virgin, who sacrificed not only her property but her life, for the sake of our holy religion'.³⁵

He did, however, offer his own edition of the 'semi-saxon' (as he called it) legend with a glossary, based on two of the three manuscripts used by Morton.³⁶ His reason for reprinting the text was that the exclusivity of the Abbotsford Club restricted its availability to the scholarly community. By pointing out that this English Passion is a translation from the Latin, he was the first to spell out what this meant: a clear

³¹ Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarto ser. 15 (1849). Another 'historical inquiry' published by Hardwick is *Christ and other masters: an historical inquiry into some of the chief parallelisms and contrasts between Christianity and the religious systems of the ancient world, with special reference to prevailing difficulties and objections* (1863²).

³² Hardwick, *An historical Inquiry*, p. 3. For details of his life (1821-59) see ODNB, s.v. Hardwick, Charles.

³³ Ibid, p. 8.

³⁴ The pertinent passages are those in Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. II.20) and Rufinus (8.14), and the latter's treatment of Dorothea, understood as Katherine's Christian name.

³⁵ Hardwick, *An historical Inquiry*, p. 20.

³⁶ p. 21-48. He disregarded Cotton Nero A.xiv.

dependence of the English on the Latin. This conclusion does not seem to have been taken up by anyone until 1884, when the *Vulgate* itself was finally printed, though yet again secondary in importance, as the focus was still on the English text.

This time it was not an English but a German national, not a churchman but an academic scholar, who took an interest in the text. Eugen Einenkel, who taught English Literature at the University of Münster until his death, had come into contact with Katherine while working on his doctorate in Leipzig.³⁷ The results of his thesis were published as 'Über den Verfasser der Neuangelsächsischen Legende von Katharina'.³⁸ Its main focus was the question of whether the Middle English Life of Katherine was written by the author who composed *the Liflade* of St Juliana and that of St Margaret, or by the author of the *Hali Maidenhead*.

By comparing the texts in terms of rare words and phrases as well as style, Einenkel concluded that the Katherine-author was someone completely different, although the author of Margaret and Juliana used the Katherine text. He also used two manuscripts containing the Latin text in order to compare it with the English and thus show which passages, mostly the speeches, the English left out.³⁹

Building on the material of his doctoral thesis, Einenkel spent the years 1883 and 1884 working in English libraries and published his results with the Early English Text Society.⁴⁰ As the series title suggests, Einenkel's primary concern was, yet again, the English text, of which he offered an edition with a modern English translation and detailed linguistic discussion, as well as the Latin original. His reason for including the

³⁷ Einenkel lived from 1853 until 1939. For over 30 years he was the editor of *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, founded in 1878 and still published today. See also the obituary notice by Viktor Langhans, 'Eugen Einenkel †', *Anglia* 54 (1930), 209-212; and H.J. Neuhaus, 'Englische Philologie in Münster bis zur Gründung des Englischen Seminars im Jahre 1905', <<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/1905/>>. [accessed 2 September 2005] (para. 13 of 18).

³⁸ *Anglia* 5 (1882), 91-123.

³⁹ Cotton Caligula A.viii and Leipzig, UB Rep. II fol. 64 (196).

⁴⁰ Einenkel, *Saint Katherine*. The Early English Text Society was founded in 1864 in order to disseminate the canon of Early English texts, some of which had already been published under the aegis of such exclusive bibliophile societies as the Abbotsford Club, the Roxburghe Club or the Bannatyne Club. See Antony Singleton, 'The Early English Text Society in the nineteenth century: an organizational history', *The Review of English Studies*, N.S., Vol. 56, No. 223 (2005), 90-118.

Latin text is as follows: ‘but apart from the advantage of always having the chance of consulting the original in case of the many puzzles offered by the ME text, I hope to receive the thanks of many a scholar for printing the whole, as I have every reason to believe that MSS. as well as prints of this Latin text, are exceedingly scarce’.⁴¹

Like Morton and Hardwick before him, Eickenel did not actively look for manuscripts containing the *Vulgate* – the British Museum did at the time own several witnesses to the text – but relied instead on Hardwick’s information and a manuscript he had come across while studying at Leipzig.⁴² He would otherwise have known that the *Vulgate* was not nearly as rare as he believed it to be.⁴³ Eickenel could not escape the need to place the saint within an historical context. He pointed to the Neo-Platonist philosopher Hypatia, who taught in Alexandria at the turn of the fourth century AD, as a parallel figure.⁴⁴ He did not go so far as to actually claim they were both one and the same person, although he clearly meant for us to follow him in that respect:

Now in the history of Christianity, we meet with very many cases where features and attributes of pagan gods or heroes have been transmuted into those of the persons of the Trinity, the holy mother, or the saints, or where traits of the evil spirit and his followers have been imparted to pagan gods. And in a country like Egypt, where between the second and the fourth centuries the struggle of pagan worship was fiercest and most tenacious, the heated imagination of the people must have been particularly apt for transmutations of this kind. Now it so happens by a strange coincidence, that the figure which, in this time and in this struggle of worship against worship, plays the most important part, is that of a woman – of a woman whose character and intentions were as pure, her abilities as high, as her fate was tragic and melancholy. ... I scarcely need say that I mean the pagan philosopher Hypatia; and I cannot but express my astonishment that no one before me thought of untwining the knot in such a simple and natural way;

⁴¹ Eickenel, *Saint Katherine*, p. vi.

⁴² The manuscripts collected by Robert and Edward Harley arrived at the British Museum in 1753; a catalogue of this collection had been published by 1812. The collection of the Royal manuscripts was transferred to the British Museum by George III in 1757.

⁴³ It was not until a couple of years later that the Bollandists produced their catalogues of hagiographical manuscripts of the big collections in Brussels and Paris: the *Analecta Bollandiana* volumes 2-7 treat the manuscripts in Brussels, while those documenting the Paris collection appeared as volume 2 of the *Subsidia Hagiographica*.

⁴⁴ s.v. Hypatia in *LMA*, and *DNP*.

so striking are the similarities of the life of our saint with that of her pagan paragon.⁴⁵

Before the end of the nineteenth century, Einkenkel's English and Latin texts were reprinted twice. The first time in the same year, 1884, as an appendix to Henry Hucks Gibbs' publication on St Katherine for the Roxburghe Club.⁴⁶ The English manuscript in Gibbs' possession included not only Katherine's passion, but also her Ancestry, Life and Conversion. He was aware also of Morton's and Hardwick's publications, and concurred with the latter's conclusion about her historicity. In 1894 Einkenkel's Latin text was printed above the French verse legend of Katherine (inc.: *cil ki le bien seit e entent/ demustrer le deit sagement*), as published by Jarník.⁴⁷

Another edition of the *Vulgate* appeared as part of the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmanticensi nunc primum integre edita*, and thus presents a different text to that of Einkenkel.⁴⁸ The sole manuscript used by the Bollandists de Smedt and de Backer was the *codex Salmanticensis*, so-called because at one point it had belonged to the Jesuit-run Irish College at Salamanca in Spain, and from there found its way into the Library of the Bollandists. It is now kept at the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, under the call-mark 7672-74.⁴⁹ One reason for the interest accorded to this manuscript is the fact that it contains a good number of Lives known from nowhere else.

In his 1965 study and edition of the manuscript, Heist concluded that the manuscript was written in Ireland during the fourteenth century, in a religious

⁴⁵ Einkenkel, *The Life of Saint Katherine*, p. x-xi.

⁴⁶ H.H. Gibbs, *The Life and martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr: now first printed from a manuscript of the early part of the fifteenth century in the possession of Henry Hucks Gibbs, with preface, notes, glossary and appendix* (1884). Gibbs (1819-1907) was a merchant and merchant banker, and renowned for his library. See the ODNB, s.v. Gibbs, Henry Hucks. On the Roxburghe Club see N.J. Barker, *The publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814-1962: an essay with a bibliographical table* (1964).

⁴⁷ J.U. Jarník, *Dve verse starofrancouzské legendy o Sv. Kateriné Alexandrinské* (1894)

⁴⁸ Carolus de Smedt & Joseph de Backer, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmanticensi nunc primum integre edita* (1888), cols. 681-734

⁴⁹ A full description of the manuscript, its contents, arrangement and history can be found in the introduction of W.W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae: ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (1965), p. i-iii.

community of English or Anglo-Norman monks, friars or canons.⁵⁰ Heist observed that most of the saints in this manuscript were Irish, apart from Katherine who is the sole 'foreigner'. She appears within a group of saints who appear 'lost' in their current place in the manuscript. The fact that they are followed by texts which are all relatively short suggests that they, along with Katherine, were perhaps added to the main body as an afterthought, or because there was nevertheless a particular interest in them.⁵¹ Heist did not discuss Katherine at great length and, more surprisingly, not to present the text of her Passion in his edition, so as not to detract from the otherwise undisturbed Irishness of the manuscript.⁵² While it is perhaps true that this particular witness to the *Vulgate* contains a number of errors, and that it had already been edited previously, it seems almost like 'prejudice' not to have included her.⁵³

The nineteenth century saw a change of methodology at the Bollandist house under the guidance of de Smedt, who arrived there in 1876. He was in favour of a sound text basis that included the entire corpus of texts available for each saint, over the previous interest in finding one particular account which appeared to be the most truthful or which seemed to contain a nucleus of truth.⁵⁴ Under his guidance the Bollandists began to try to edit their texts from as many manuscripts as possible, and to determine their relationships as far as they could.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, p. xii, and p. xxix-xxxviii for a history of the manuscript.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. xlvi-xlviii

⁵² *Ibid.* (p. xlix): 'the present edition, which includes all the Lives of Irish saints in the manuscript that can be considered as belonging to Irish tradition, omits the Life of St. Catharine, which is clearly an outsider, and one for which our text is of no particular interest.'

⁵³ Dobson (p. 135): 'is too late and inaccurate to be of use' and (p. xxv) 'gives an inaccurate text, many of whose errors have been emended by the editors, but purely conjecturally the edition is really of no value for scholarly purposes.'

⁵⁴ De Smedt had taught ecclesiastical history at Louvain, during which time he had developed an interest in principles of historical criticism, see Delehaye, *L'œuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles: 1615-1915* (1959²), p. 149.

⁵⁵ From the obituary on De Smedt (*AB* 20 [1911]): 'en rappelant que la longue présidence du P. De Smedt marque dans l'histoire des AASS une période de renouvellement, nous constatons un fait que nous n'entendons ni exagérer ni dissimuler' (p. v). And: 'le principal tort de la critique hagiographique avait été de répandre trop d'érudition autour de ses documents, après en avoir mis trop peu à les trier et à les rendre utilisables. Pour la tirer des impasses de la dissertation, il fallait la ramener aux sources originales de la tradition écrite. A cet effet, le premier soin devait

In view of this new development, Narbey's treatment of Katherine's Passion, published in 1900, might seem as a welcome addition, and while it does include a small number of good observations, its overall outlook still smacks of the positivist school.⁵⁶ The Bollandists were quick to dissociate themselves from Narbey's work (which carried a misleading title, in their opinion).⁵⁷ The *Supplément's* author was bold enough to claim to complete and correct the Bollandists' past efforts by having unearthed and putting forward 'primitive' texts, as he called them: 'ce second volume continue à compléter, à rectifier les Bollandistes, sur beaucoup de points, où ils ont reproduit des documents falsifiés ou interpolés'.⁵⁸ No wonder the Bollandists felt they had to take a stand.

Already the section-heading that precedes Narbey's discussion of Katherine hints at the editor's school of thought: *Les actes de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie (dont le nom de chrétienne était Dorothee), martyrisée vers 309*.⁵⁹ There is no doubt here that he considered Katherine a historical figure; despite the silence of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* he concluded that she is in fact identical with the virgin Dorothea

être de lui créer de vrais et solides instruments de recherche scientifique et de contrôle: inventaires de textes imprimés, inventaires de textes inédits, répertoires spéciaux, bibliographies et autres ouvrages techniques' (p. vi).

⁵⁶ C. Narbey, *Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum pour des vies de saints de l'époque mérovingienne*, vol. 2: *contenant des documents sur les origines du christianisme en Espagne, en Angleterre, sur les martyrs de la Gaule et des bords du Rhin avec de nombreux dessins d'antiquités* (1905).

⁵⁷ Vol. 1 of the *Supplément* at the BL bears a red notice glued onto the inside cover with the following message: 'AVIS. Pour couper court à une confusion que certaines annonces de librairie paraissent vouloir entretenir, nous nous voyons obligés de déclarer que la publication, intitulée *Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum* .., n'a rien de commun avec notre œuvre.' In the second edition of Delehaye's *L'œuvre des Bollandistes*, under the heading 'publications pseudo-Bollandiennes', p. 189, the Bollandists comment on Narbey's work as follows: 'Nous pouvons difficilement reconnaître ce recueil comme un complément des *Acta Sanctorum*. Il n'est destiné à en combler aucune lacune déterminée, et les principes qui ont guidé son auteur sont singulièrement déroutants. On sait que les textes abrégés qui se rencontrent dans les bréviaires, leçons historiques, hymnes, répons, sont souvent plus sobres et renferment moins d'éléments légendaires que les textes anciens dont ils dérivent. Narbey, sur cette bonne impression, les déclare primitifs, sans avoir l'air de se rappeler comment les bréviaires ont été composés et à quelle époque. L'ouvrage répond d'ailleurs si mal à son titre qu'on peut feuilleter tout le premier volume sans rencontrer un seul saint mérovingien'.

⁵⁸ Narbey continues: 'Nous avons donc recherché avec soin les textes primitives. ... Là où l'original fait défaut, nous avons encore attaché de l'importance aux copies les plus anciennes, les moins chargées d'inventions fabuleuses', *Supplément*, vol. 1, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Narbey, *Supplément*, vol. 2, p. 317.

mentioned by Rufinus.⁶⁰ But as Hardwick had already pointed out, the details given by both Eusebius and Rufinus are far too scarce to establish a direct link between the two historians and Katherine's Passion.

Narbey then proceeded to examine the *Actes* of Katherine he knew of: citing only manuscripts from Paris he divided them according to the quality of the text they contained.⁶¹ First, the *grands Actes* (the *Vulgate*, markedly different from Surius' text)⁶², preserved in Paris lat. 5308, s. xii; Paris lat. 5343, s. xii (but in reality s. xi); Paris lat. 5365, s. xii; and Paris lat. 12259, s. xii.⁶³ Then a second text, shorter than the *grands Actes* (Paris lat. 14293, s. xiii) and finally an even shorter one (Paris lat. 3809, s. xiii [but in reality s. xiv]). He edited the text preserved in Paris lat. 14293, and prefaced it with the prologue contained in Paris lat. 12259. While Narbey seemed to suggest that the shorter the text the more truthful it was, he did not at all take into consideration a) the dates of the manuscripts he was using or b) the relationships between the various texts.

By comparing the vocabulary of the *Vulgate* with other saints' acts from antiquity, he quickly established that it has very little in common with these, and that it was in fact a product of someone working after Charlemagne's revision of the Bible.⁶⁴ Narbey further concluded that its author was a hagiographer of the ninth century on the

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 317: 'toutes les particularités décrites par Eusèbe et Rufin, sont tellement en rapport avec la substance des Actes [de Catherine], qu'il est impossible de ne pas voir la même personne dans la vierge Dorothee et dans sainte Catherine. La divergence de noms n'a rien de surprenant. Catherine ou plutôt *Ecatherina*, comme l'appelaient les Grecs, paraît dérivé de Hécate ou Diane, déesse des enfers. C'était son nom de païenne; il était assez naturel de le changer en Dorothee (*Don de Dieu*) au baptême'.

⁶¹ This chapter is headed *Les deux sortes de grands Actes de Sainte Catherine sont pleins d'erreurs et de fables légendaires*. Ibid, p. 318.

⁶² Narbey, *Supplément*, p. 318. Laurentius Surius (German, 1523-78), *De probatis Sanctorum historiis ab Al. Lipomano olim conscriptis nunc primum a Laur. Surio emendatis et auctis* (Cologne, 1570-77), followed by another three editions. See BBK, s.v. Surius. Under November 25 Surius includes an otherwise unknown Latin Passion of Katherine, which is in fact his own translation of Symeon Metaphrastes' version of Katherine's Passion (reproduced in *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 116, col. 275-302, opposite the Greek text).

⁶³ In reality, Paris lat. 12259 preserves an epitome.

⁶⁴ 'pour que les Actes de sainte Catherine aient un aussi grand nombre de passages absolument conformes à la *Vulgate* actuelle, il faut qu'ils aient été écrits après Charlemagne'. Narbey, *Supplément*, 2, p. 319.

basis of style and the numerous speeches.⁶⁵ These observations cannot be taken as conclusive, although they are the first steps towards considering the *Vulgate* as a literary text in its own right.

While Hardwick, Narbey, and others still subscribed to the historicity of Katherine, the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941) very carefully suggested otherwise in his influential book *Les légendes hagiographiques*.⁶⁶ According to him, Katherine's legend could not be placed in the category of saints whose cult was documented by their (official) acts, or in the category of saints who are known to have existed. Although he did not say so, he implied she was fictitious.⁶⁷ Delehaye could thus almost be seen to have anticipated the decision of the Second Vatican Council which led to the reform of the Roman Calendar in 1969, and entailed the suppression of a number of saints' feast days, including those of Katherine and Barbara.⁶⁸ But already during the last decade of the nineteenth century, two German scholars came to the Passion of Katherine with an interest more in the manuscripts than in her historicity. They were working in the field of comparative philology.

Hermann Knust published an historical overview of the legends of St Katherine and St Mary of Egypt in 1890.⁶⁹ The two saints have in common that they excelled even men in their respective virtues: Katherine in wisdom and learning, Mary in renouncing the world. But since Knust died before the book was printed, it lacks a prologue, so that we may never know why he was interested in Katherine and Mary, though a possible connection could be that one lived in Alexandria, and the other in the Egyptian desert.

Although Knust included a text of the *Vulgate* (from Cotton Caligula A.viii), his

⁶⁵ 'le genre de la rédaction est bien aussi ce qu'étaient la plupart des récits laissés par les hagiographes de la seconde moitié du ix^e siècle, c'est-à-dire une phraséologie délayée sans fin, des discours fréquents et qui sont souvent des dissertations, avec de longues descriptions, et des recherches de cadences sonores.' Ibid., p. 319.

⁶⁶ B. Joassart, *Hippolyte Delehaye: hagiographie critique et modernisme* (2000).

⁶⁷ 'Il n'est pas probable que l'on trouve jamais un argument décisif permettant de placer sainte Barbe et sainte Catherine dans la première ou dans la seconde catégorie des saints.' *Les légendes hagiographiques* (1905), p. 124-25

⁶⁸ See ODCC, s.vv. Barbara, Katherine. At the same time, the cult of St George was reduced to a local one, s.v. ODS.

⁶⁹ Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden* (1890).

principal interest concerned two translations into French and Spanish, and likewise in the case of Mary.⁷⁰ After a cursory overview of the Greek Katherine-Passions, Knust examined those written in the Latin West. He proceeded by grouping the texts according to centuries, and within that category according to the language they were written in, citing many manuscripts for the first time.⁷¹ Knust was a staunch supporter of those who saw in Katherine no more than a fiction, and in those who believed in her, superstitious backwoodsmen:

Jahrhunderte sind seit diesen Worten [Calvin's], deren Wahrheit nicht bestritten werden kann, dahingegangen, ohne daß der Aberglaube seine Kraft verloren. Wahrscheinlich werden daher auch noch manche andere ihnen folgen, ehe wahre Religiosität überall sich Bahn bricht. Millionen und Millionen, welche sich über Kannibalen weit erhaben glauben, sehen wir noch heute ohne Gewissensbisse Theile ihres eigenen Gottes anbeten. Warum also die h. Katharina in ihrer Ruhe stören?⁷²

Current events also found their way into Knust's book, and thus allow a glimpse into the last gasps of the *Kulturkampf* that had raged between the Vatican and protestant governments,⁷³ caused by Pope Pius IX's publication of the *Syllabus Errorum* in 1864

⁷⁰ Ibid., on p. 231-314 the *Vulgate* is printed at the top of the page, the French (Paris fr. 412) and the Spanish (El Escorial h-I-13, s. xiv) beneath it. Parts of the *Vulgate* are printed in italics – these are the passages that are left out by Paris lat. 5278, an epitome. Other books published by Knust also reveal his 'vernacular interests': *Mitteilungen aus dem Eskurial* (1879); *Till Eulenspiegel*, reprint of 1515 edn (1884).

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 7-11: Monte Cassino 139, s. xi; Monte Cassino 187, s. xi; Paris BN lat. 1970, s. xi; Paris lat. 5371, s. xiii; Paris lat. 5371, s. xiii; Paris lat. 1864, s. xiv; Paris lat. 5333, s. xiv; Paris lat. 5336, s. xiv; Paris lat. 5360, s. xiv; London BL Harley 12, s. xi (Katherine's Passion 1125-1150). Paris lat. 5278, s. xiii, on p. 17. Paris lat. 5373, s. xv, on p. 42, and London BL Royal 12.E.1 on p. 44. Knust also makes reference to a lost verse legend by a monk Ainard (p. 11), and a number of printed books (p. 8). Knust did not use the Bollandists' catalogue of the hagiographical manuscripts at Paris (both his book and their work appeared in the same year, and he actually makes reference to the 1744 catalogue of the Royal Library), and his interest in delineating how the various Latin texts are related to each other (if only in a cursory manner) predates the attempts at categorization of the BHL which was to appear in 1898.

⁷² Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden*, p. 191.

⁷³ On page 41 Knust's feelings get the better of him and he produces some lines that show him to be a protestant 'Kulturkämpfer' through and through: 'endlich müssen wir auch, und das zeigt für die Ausbreitung der Legendenliteratur in diesem Zeitraum, auf eine arabisch geschriebene Katharinenhistorie, welche die Vaticansbibliothek sorgfältig verschließt, hinweisen. Wer aber ihren Inhalt zu sehen wünscht, muß sich an den päpstlichen Stuhl wenden. Der Augenblick für ein solches Wagnis ist ja günstig und nicht zu besorgen, der Bittsteller werde abfahren wie

until the crisis was brought to an end under his successor Leo XIII in 1887. This same Leo can be credited with opening the Vatican Archives in 1883, thus making them accessible to scholars (in principle) and trying to instil confidence among non-Catholics that the Catholic Church was prepared to play with open cards.⁷⁴

A year after Knust, Hermann Varnhagen (1850-1925) also published an historical study of the Katherine legends.⁷⁵ His main gripe against Knust was that his colleague had failed to examine thoroughly the relationships between the many versions he had taken the trouble to list, that he had not considered the Greek versions which were the basis for the Latin texts and, finally, that he had grouped the texts according to the date of the manuscripts and their language.⁷⁶ Despite these criticisms, Knust's books remains a treasure-trove for those interested in the development of Katherine's legend, and story more generally, in the vernacular languages.

weiland so viele andere. Kommt es doch gerade jetzt darauf an, daß Mutter Kirche ihr feuriges Racheschnauben bis auf Weiters unter der Maske liebender Sorge 'für das ewige Seelenheil' ihrer Kinder verbirgt, so daß der h. Vater oder, wie er richtiger genannt wird, der Pontifex Maximus, der schlaue Leo, von 'väterlicher Milde' und 'versöhnlichem Herzen' schier überfließt und ein Verfechter des Scheiterhaufens, Cardinal Manning, sich einer christlichen Versammlung aufdrängt, um eine Deklamationsübung zu Gunsten der von seinem Meister bei Gelegenheit der Erbauung einer protestantischen Kirche in Rom als Teufelswerk verschrieenen Toleranz loszulassen – gegen eine schismatische Regierung.'

⁷⁴ For an account of events see Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: the opening of the Vatican Archives* (1978). In contrast to the Archives, the Vatican Library had been open to readers from 1475 onwards. See Carmela Virgilio Franklin, 'Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo: the Vatican Library and its service to scholarship', *Proceedings of the APS*, 146.4 (2002), 363-84.

⁷⁵ Hermann Varnhagen, *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien, nebst Lateinischen Texten nach Handschriften der Hof. und Staatsbibliothek in München und der Universitätsbibliothek in Erlangen* (Erlangen: Junge, 1891). He was an Anglicist at the University of Erlangen from 1881 until 1920; his studies centred mainly Old and Middle English texts, the results of which appeared in *Anglia*.

⁷⁶ Varnhagen, *Zur Geschichte*, preface: 'Er ist eben nicht zur vollen Erkenntnis durchgedrungen, daß die Darstellung der Geschichte eines litterarischen Stoffes nur auf Grund einer eingehenden, mit allen Mitteln der Kritik gefuehrten Untersuchung über das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der verschiedenen Bearbeitungen, namentlich der älteren, möglich ist. Aus dieser Nichterkenntnis dürfte es auch zu erklären sein, daß Knust vermeinte, die Geschichte der Katharinenlegende schreiben zu können, ohne sich mit den griechischen Bearbeitungen bekannt gemacht zu haben, während diese doch die Grundlage aller späteren sind und sich ohne Kenntnis derselben auch das Verhältnis der lateinischen Texte zu einander nicht klarstellen und somit vielfach auch für die Texte in den Vulgärsprachen die Quellenfrage nicht mit Sicherheit beantworten lässt'.

Varnhagen was the first to coin the term 'Vulgate' in relation to Katherine's Passion.⁷⁷ He also looked at the relationship between the longer (BHL 1663) and the shorter text (as published by Knust and contained in Paris lat. 5278, BHL 1663a), and concluded that the shorter one was a pared down version of the longer text, rather than the longer one an elaboration of the shorter text. His argument was that it would be very unlikely for someone to elaborate a shorter text by simply adding new material without otherwise interfering with the text even once. True to his criticism of Knust, he tried to work out if and how the various Latin versions are related to the Greek texts, but dealt with the matter in less than three pages. Varnhagen published the Katherine-Passion contained in Munich Clm 1133 (s. xii-xiv), beginning *regnante igitur Maxentio cesare, Maximiani Augusti filio*, which has most recently been attributed to Peter, subdeacon of Naples.⁷⁸

By the turn of the twentieth century, therefore, the text of the *Vulgate* had appeared in print several times:

Einenkel = London BL Cotton Caligula A.viii and Leipzig UB Rep. ii fol. 64.

De Smedt & de Backer = Bruxelles BR 7672-74.

Narbey = Paris lat. 12259 (prologue) and Paris lat. 14293.

Knust = London BL Cotton Caligula A.viii and Paris lat. 5278.

Compared to the many manuscripts that had been mentioned by Narbey or Knust, only a very small number was used by the various editors for preparing their editions. In most cases they drew on material that was close at hand, understandable in an age when travelling and manuscript reproductions were costly, though surprising because London and Paris, where they mostly worked, had many more manuscripts on offer.

While the Passion(s) of Katherine began appearing in print, none of the texts (or, better, versions) were ever presented in a fashion that would satisfy modern scholarly needs – the apparatus remained scant and there was little, or no interest, in assembling a

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 3: 'Ich bezeichne diese Bearbeitung als die Vulgata'.

⁷⁸ See chapter 2. Varnhagen also mentioned a further five manuscripts as witnesses to this text: Brussels BR 9810-14, St. Omer 27, Orléans 330 and 334, Arch. Dept. du Jura 11. He also published Katherine's conversion as conserved in München Clm 7954, s. xiii, and three miracles from Erlangen UB 712.

complete (or as near as complete) list of all the witnesses. This was due in part to the prevailing attitude towards saints' lives as curios rather than serious texts – highlighted by Knust's effort to show the progression of the Legend through the ages and countries. Another reason is that the *Vulgate* was always subordinate to the English version of the Passion.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bollandists themselves undertook some editing work on Katherine-related texts, texts which were short and not extant in too many manuscripts. In 1903, Poncelet published the translation and miracles of Katherine's relics from Rouen. Four years later, Peeters edited an Arabic version of Katherine's Passion. Since then, although her name has appeared in almost every index of the *Analecta Bollandiana*,⁷⁹ the only major works undertaken that included the *Vulgate* were Bronzini's monumental study of the Greek and Latin texts, and D'Ardenne's and Dobson's edition of the text.

In 1959 Giovanni B. Bronzini published a comparative study of the Greek and Latin Passions of St Katherine. Bronzini was the first to draw together the Greek and Latin accounts of Katherine's Passion, an almost superhuman task. He presented an overview of the corpus, starting with the Greek accounts – on which he had comparatively little to say – and moving on to the Latin texts, which he examined in much greater detail. Bronzini's study fits in with the comparative approach practised by Knust and Varnhagen, although it is he who can be credited with bringing the Greek and Latin texts to the fore, and scrutinizing them comparatively. Not for nothing did he become Professor for 'Storia delle tradizioni popolari' in Bari in 1962.⁸⁰ The inevitable problem with Bronzini's approach was the wealth of material he had sought to tackle. While there is something to be said for mapping the texts in a global way, there are

⁷⁹ The journal of critical hagiography published by the Bollandists, started in 1882, which supplements the *Acta Sanctorum*.

⁸⁰ See Luisa Rubini's obituary 'Giovanni Battista Bronzini (1925-2002)', *Fabula* 44 (2003), 313-16. Rubini describes Bronzini's intellectual activities thus (p. 313): 'einer der führenden Vertreter der Erzählforschung und Volkskunde .., ein Italiener, der stark in seiner nationalen, regionalen und lokalen Traditions- und Kulturgeschichte verankert war und der den intellektuellen Vergleich suchte und förderte'.

many questions that must necessarily remain unanswered, because there was no time for the sort of detail that is required. Moreover, Bronzini constructed stemmata for the relationships between the versions not on the basis of philological reasoning (despite his claims to the contrary), but on the basis of presence/absence of episodes. He also attributed much attention to the dates on which the protagonists of Katherine's Passion were martyred, and concluded that the *Menologium Basilianum* contained the text that was closest to the original, now lost, Passion.⁸¹

It was, however, not until 1981 that the *Vulgate* found an editor willing to collate more than a handful of manuscripts. Yet again, though, it did not come by the attention in its own right – instead, it is an appendix to a re-edition of the Middle English version published again under the aegis of the EETS. D'Ardenne and Dobson undertook the job of re-editing the Middle English (ME) text.⁸² Dobson wanted to improve on Eikenkel's edition of the Latin, and argued for a fuller use of more manuscripts. He proceeded to collate and use for his edition 23 manuscripts in total, choosing mainly early witnesses and one (Paris BN lat. 15149, s. xiii-xiv) because of a connection between Wigmore Abbey and St Victor in Paris (where this manuscript comes from). Dobson was guided in this by his search for the model of the ME text, which is an abbreviation of the *Vulgate* but not based on its epitome BHL 1663a (thus, whenever the ME text does not offer a particular passage of the *Vulgate*, this is printed in italics). Instead, he hypothesized that the ME text derived from an intermediary text.

Dobson's edition was a step in the right direction, though his interest in the Latin text was necessarily limited by his interest in the ME version. As a consequence there is no real discussion of the *Vulgate*, its diffusion or what might have caused its

⁸¹ In 1978 Gabriele Giamberardini tried to isolate the nucleus of truth/historicity in Katherine's Passion, see S. Caterina di Alessandria', *Quaderni della Terra Santa* (Jerusalem, 1978). This was reviewed by F. Halkin in *AB* 97 (1979), 447-48, who pointed out that Giamberardini's conclusions were not completely watertight. I have been unable to locate this article.

⁸² D'Ardenne (1899-1986) had studied at Oxford with Tolkien in the 1930s, under whose direction she worked on the *Liflade of Seinte Iulienne*. Following its publication and D'Ardenne's appointment as Professor of English at the University of Liège, they started thinking about a similar study of the ME Life of Katherine but the collaboration never happened. Dobson (1913-84) was a Professor of English at Jesus College, Oxford.

extraordinary success in the Middle Ages. More serious are a number of Dobson's interventions in the text which are plainly wrong (see chapter 3), and which he described as 'deep-seated corruptions [of] the archetype of all the copies that we have collated'.⁸³

How little impact Dobson's edition has had can be seen in the fact that neither MacBain nor Orbán, two scholars who edited versions of Katherine's Passion, made reference to him. In 1987 Knust's text was reprinted as an appendix to William MacBain's edition of the Picard version of Katherine's legend, despite availability of Dobson.⁸⁴ More surprising perhaps is Orbán's silence: he edited a number of metrical Latin Lives of Katherine in 1992.⁸⁵ None of these poems predate the twelfth century (with the exception of that composed by a certain *Ricardus*),⁸⁶ and only two of them are based, directly or indirectly, on *Vulgate* or one of its epitomes. It was Knust's edition that served Orbán as a basis for comparison.

In 2001 Katherine's cult was officially restored for local use by the Catholic Church. In contrast, the revised edition of *Butler's Lives of the Saints* has no knowledge of her.⁸⁷ During all this time the Greek Orthodox church has continued to see in her a

⁸³ Dobson, *Sainte Katerine*, p. xxvi.

⁸⁴ *De sainte Katerine: an anonymous Picard version of the Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, ed. William MacBain (1987), p. 177-216. MacBain had also edited *The Life of St Catherine by Clemence of Barking* (1964).

⁸⁵ Orbán edited: '*Floruit insignis*' – no BHL; '*Palma triumphalis*' – BHL 1666; '*Sepius in sexu fragili*' – no BHL; Ricardus, '*Ut super omne melos*' – no BHL; Petrus Carmelianus, '*Numina si veteres*' – BHL 1666a; '*Hic constantino patri*' – BHL 1665, fragmentum upsaliense; Iohannes B. Mantuanus, '*Costidis aggressi pugnam*' – BHL 1675; Iodocus Badius Ascensius' commentary on Mantuanus' poem.

⁸⁶ CCCC 375, s. xii, contains on fol. 1-54 Richard's poem on Katherine, and on fol. 57-118 his poem on St Alphege. The latter is based on Osbern's Life of Alphege (BHL 2518). Both poems are exceptionally long; that on Katherine comprises 3413 verses. Orbán hypothesized that the *Ricardus* who names himself in the epilogue to the Katherine-poem could be the same as the *Ricardus monachus*, the scribe of CCCC 184, s. xii, prov. Christ Church Canterbury. See Orbán, p. 156-57. James thought CCCC 375 was written at St Albans from where it was sent to Canterbury, see *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. 2 (1912), p. 221.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed., rev. & suppl. H. Thurston & Donald Attwater (1965), vol. 4, p. 420-21.

powerful intercessor.⁸⁸ What started in all likelihood as a local cult has survived, and indeed thrived, until today. I will start my survey precisely at the moment at which this cult emerged, or, more correctly, at which point it becomes visible and ‘readable’.

Timeline

1476	‘Editio princeps’ from Koehlhoff workshop, Cologne
1491	Reprint by Wagner, Nuremberg
1500	Reprint from unidentified workshop, Basle
1560-1650	Costantino Gaetano
1600-1700	<i>Collectanea Bollandiana</i>
1849	Harwick mentions a Latin text
1884	Einenkel’s edition (reprinted Gibbs)
1888	<i>Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae</i>
1890	Knust
1891	Varnhagen
1894	Einenkel’s edition reprinted
1900	Narbey’s <i>Supplément</i>
1903	Poncelet <i>Translatio et Miracula</i>
1904	Peeters’ Arabic text
1959	Bronzini
1981	D’Ardenne & Dobson

⁸⁸ Interestingly, many of the pilgrims and visitors to St Catherine’s monastery on Sinai come from Russia (personal comment from J. Herrin).

CHAPTER 1

The early cult of St Katherine gleaned from the corpus of texts and church calendars

After a brief investigation into the origin of what would later become the monastery of St Catharine on Mount Sinai, I consider the Greek versions of Katherine's Passion. I draw together what has been known about these versions since the end of the nineteenth century, with particular regard to their date and country of composition. By also considering the hymns in honour of Katherine, as well as the inclusion of her feast day in certain early church calendars, I conclude that by the end of the tenth century her cult had achieved official status after approximately two hundred years gathering momentum. A timeline at the end of the chapter presents the evidence in chronological order.

1. Sinai

Biblical associations such as the episode of Moses and the Burning Bush (Exodus 3. 1-4; Acts 7. 30-31)¹ or Moses receiving from God the tablets of stone (Exodus 31. 18) made the Sinai peninsula a popular destination for early monastic settlers and pilgrims, along with the connected desert regions east of the Nile Valley. Anthony of Egypt was not the first, but the most influential of the early hermits who sought the solitude of the desert for spiritual fulfilment.

Egeria's account of her visit to the Holy Land 381/84 AD furnishes us with an early testimony about the sites she stops at. Besides visiting Jerusalem and describing the city in some detail, she also found time for a tour of the sights on Sinai.² At this point the monks and hermits were living in a sort of loose confederation, and it was not

¹ Reference is made throughout to the Vulgate: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. R. Weber & R. Gryson (1994).

² 'Propterea autem ad caput ipsius uallis exire nos necesse erat, quoniam ibi erant monasteria plurima sanctorum hominum et ecclesia in eo loco, ubi est rubus; qui rubus usque in hodie uiuet et mittet uirgultas.' 4.6 in *Égerie: Journal de Voyage*, ed. Pierre Maraval (1982).

until the middle of the sixth century that Justinian I ordered a fortified monastery to be built next to the spot of the Burning Bush. Inscriptions on the beams of the basilica's roof allow a precise dating for the construction of the monastery church: they imply that his wife Theodora was dead (*d.* AD 548) and that he himself was still alive (*d.* AD 565).³ Both Procopius of Caesarea and Eutychios of Alexandria make reference to Justinian's building efforts on Sinai, who busied himself there as much for reasons of faith as for the security of his empire.⁴ Procopius probably wrote his *Περὶ κτισμάτων* in the 550s (although the exact date is disputed).⁵ In his account the monastery is dedicated to the Theotokos.⁶ The Annals of Eutychios (Said ibn Batrik), patriarch of Alexandria from January 935, corroborate this (*templum Sanctae Mariae*), although in his version of events the monks set out from Sinai to ask Justinian for a protective building.⁷

By the end of the sixth century, the monastery was firmly established and its monks in epistolary contact with Pope Gregory I the Great.⁸ We have two letters Gregory wrote to a Palladius and a Johannes. In his letter of 1 September 600 to

³ I. Ševčenko, 'The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its inscriptions', *DOP* 20 (1966), 255-265 (+ 18 plates), esp. 256 & plates 4-5.

⁴ See the archaeological account of the monastery by G.H. Forsyth, 'The Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai', *DOP* 22 (1968), 1-19 (+ 49 plates).

⁵ *ODB*, s.v. Prokopios of Caesarea.

⁶ Book V.8.4-9: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Σινᾷ ὄρει μοναχοὶ ᾤκηνται ... τούτοις δὴ τοῖς μοναχοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ... ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδομήσατο, ἥνπερ τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ὅπως δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐξῇ εὐχομένοις τε καὶ ἱερωμένοις διαβιώναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἐδείματο τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ ἐνερθεν. ... ἐνταῦθά ποτε τὸν Μωσέα φασὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους παραλαβόντα ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ᾠκοδομήσατο, φυλακτήριόν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀξιολογώτατον κατεστήσατο, ὥς μὴ ἐνθένδε Σαρακηνοὶ βάρβαροι ἔχοιεν ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐρήμου οὔσης, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐσβάλλειν ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης χωρία. *Prokop: Werke, V: Die Bauten*, ed. Otto Veh (1977).

⁷ *ODB*, s.v. Eutychios of Alexandria. The Annals were originally written in Arabic; a Latin translation is available in PG 111, cols. 907-1156, esp. col. 1071, chapters 161-63: 'Rogante ergo imperatore, quid vellent: Rogamus, inquiunt, o rex, ut nobis monasterium exstruas in quo muniamur. Neque enim ante illud tempus ullum fuit in monte Sina coenobium in quo convenirent monachi, sed in montibus ac vallibus circa rubum e quo Deus Mosen allocutus est, sparsim degerunt. Fuit tantum ipsis supra rubum turris magna, quae et hodie superest, atque in ea templum Sanctae Mariae, ad quam monachi, accedente quopiam a quo timerent, confugientes, in eadem munire se solebant.'

⁸ For a recent discussion of Gregory's contact with the East see M. Piccirillo, 'Gregorio e le province orientali di Palestina e Arabia', *LibAn* 54 (2004), 321-41.

Palladius, Gregory urges him to ignore the envious remarks of slanderers, and sends him ‘de benedictione sancti Petri apostoli cucullam et tunicam.’⁹ Johannes, the abbot at Sinai also receives a letter, and ‘lenas xv, racanas xxx, lectos xv; pretium quoque de emendis culcitis vel naula’.¹⁰

Historical sources show that the monastery on Sinai – which was to become the focal point of the cult of St Katherine from the thirteenth century onwards¹¹ – was still referred to as that of the Theotokos at the beginning of the tenth century. In fact, the monastery and the Burning Bush along with it, were almost something of a literary topos. Epiphanius Hagiopolites (fl. s. viii^{ex}/ix), who wrote a pilgrim guide to the holy sites, including Sinai, names the monastery as ὁ ἅγιος Βάθος.¹²

2. The dating and sources of the Greek versions

The texts of Katherine’s Passion are accessible through a bilingual (Latin and Greek) edition undertaken by Viteau at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ A new edition is

⁹ Letter XI.1, *Gregorii I Papae: Registrum Epistolarum*, vol. 2, ed. L.M. Hartmann (1899).

¹⁰ Letter XI.2.

¹¹ Master Thietmar, a German, set out to the Holy Land where he arrived in 1217. Always with Katherine’s relics in mind (VIII.1: ‘Desiderio autem desiderans desiderantissime corpus beate Katerine, sacro sudans oleo, uisitare, eoque ardentius, quo id in animo meo proposueram diuturnius, totum me, corpus et animam, gratie Dei et beate Katerine submisi auxilio, quelibet pericula et casuales euentus non abhorrens.’), he worked his way round the sites of Caesarea, Mount Carmel, Jerusalem etc. before directing his steps towards Sinai. He refers to the church next to the Burning Bush as ‘ecclesia in honore domine nostre, beate virginis, constructa’ (XVIII.12-13), and then goes on to describe the monastery attached to it. Thietmar is also the first to relate the arrival of Katherine’s body at the monastery as told to him by his guide. *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio: ad fidem codicis Hamburgensis*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (1857).

¹² ODB, s.v. Epiphanius Hagiopolites. For a discussion of the manuscripts see Andreas Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit* (1994), p. 14-17. The text is in PG 120, col. 265 D: Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν πέντε ἐστὶ τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος, ὅπου ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Μωυσῇ, καὶ εἶδε τὰ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ μοναστήριον, ὁ ἅγιος Βάθος (sic), καὶ ὁ λίθος ἐνθα ἔστι Μωυσῆς, θεωρῶν τὴν βάτον καιομένην, καὶ μὴ καταφλεγόμενην.

¹³ J. Viteau, *Passions des Saints Écaterine et Pierre d’Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia* (1897). Karl Krumbacher wrote a damning review of it in *ByzZ* 7 (1898), 480-83, which he began thus: ‘Die vorliegende Ausgabe ist ein sehr brauchbares Mittel für Seminarübungen, wenn der Professor seinen Schülern an einem konkreten Beispiele alle Fehler klar machen will, die man bei der

needed, because Viteau used a very small number of manuscripts and hence did not provide a full critical apparatus, and because the texts are only available in a Latin translation.¹⁴ Moreover, as the following discussion will show, a careful examination still needs to be made of the sources used for the composition of these various texts, their linguistic content and their relationships with each other.

Viteau identified three versions: A, B, and C (which correspond to BHG 30, 30a, and 31 respectively). This arrangement brings out the chronology, as he saw it, of the texts with A being the oldest. He argued that B, with its long and incomprehensible speeches, was a re-elaboration of A.¹⁵ He took it for granted that the shorter version was the primitive and therefore the original one. The only reasoning he adduced for this was that faced with the more or less curt exchanges in A, the soon-to-be redactor of B could not but have the idea to make the protagonists a little more talkative.¹⁶

By looking at the Latin translation of Katherine's Passion as printed by Mombricitus (BHL 1657) and comparing it with A and B, Peeters showed that B is the oldest recension of the three. He also demonstrated that the Arabic version (BHO 26) he edited is based on this.¹⁷ According to him, A is an abbreviation of B. The 'Mombricitus'-version shares traits both with B and with A, which led Peeters to the

Veröffentlichung hagiographischer und verwandter Texte begehen kann und heute nicht mehr begehen sollte'.

¹⁴ None of the extant manuscripts predate the tenth century. See Appendix I.

¹⁵ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 23: 'les deux passions suivantes montreront ce que le premier texte est devenu entre les mains d'un maladroit (texte B) et d'un homme raisonnable (texte C)'. For example, already towards the beginning of Katherine's first speech in B (ch. 6), strange words (here underlined) start turning up: Ἀλκιμωτάτην λέξιν ἀναλαβοῦσα σφιμιγγιλίον τι ρῆμα λέγω πρὸς σέ ἐν ὑψικαρήῳ λέξει, πολυποίκιλον νεῦμα, ἀκτινοβόλον ἔδρασμα σφιμιγγιλιούθμιστον ἐρκολεκτροεώτατον λεπτοποίκιλον ἐκτροφωστήρσι πανοπλίαν ἀλκιμοτάτως σκαμανδρόθεν .. etc. The author obviously wanted to bring out Katherine's vast learning with such long and complicated words, and bring home to his readers, who would not be able to understand her either, just how comprehensive her victory over the philosophers really had been. The philosophers reply in a similarly contorted speech. Sources or parallels for this remarkable exploit on the part of the 'maladroit' would be welcome.

¹⁶ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 23: 'il était naturel qu'un autre eût l'idée de suppléer à ce silence du premier rédacteur, et la tentation de fabriquer des discours.'

¹⁷ P. Peeters, 'Une version Arabe de la Passion de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie', *AB* 26 (1907), 5-32. This text has short speeches.

conclusion that both A and 'Mombritius' derive from B via an intermediary Greek version.¹⁸

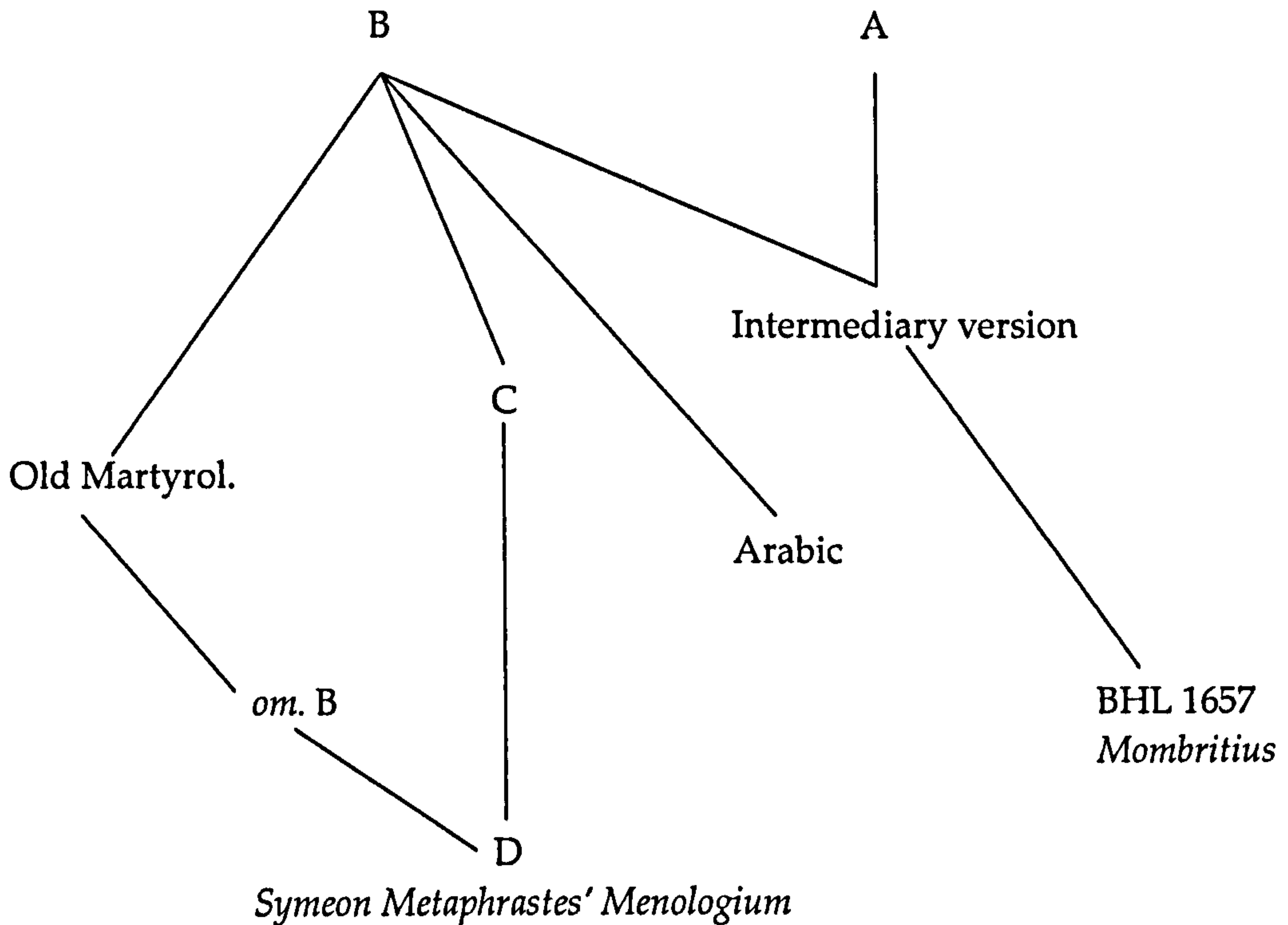
Version C is a rewriting of B. Symeon Metaphrastes (d. c. 1000) used C for the entry on Katherine in his *Menologium* (this version is identified by the tag BHG 32 or D).¹⁹ Ehrhard undertook an elaborate study of Symeon's working method and the manuscripts he used. He concluded that Symeon used the 'old November-martyrology' for the compilation of the lives of the saints for the month of November. This old martyrology contains version B of Katherine's Passion: the evidence are two tenth-century manuscripts.²⁰ Given that C is a rewriting of B and is not attested in the old martyrology, Symeon must have found the C, source for his Katherine-version (D) elsewhere.

¹⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁹ Printed in PG 116, col. 275-302, from Paris gr. 1525 with a translation into Latin by Laurentius Surius (d. 1578).

²⁰ A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der Hagiographischen und Homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche*, vol. 2 (1937), p. 468: 'da Symeon sich zur Aufgabe stellte, die alten hagiographischen Texte zu verdrängen, leuchtet ein, daß die erhaltenen Exemplare des alten Novembermenologiums die Hauptfundgruben für die Gewinnung der von ihm überarbeiteten Martyrien und Heiligenleben darstellen. Sie enthalten in der Tat fast alle .. Vorlagen der metaphrastischen Novembertexte.' Also p. 469 n. 8: '.. [BHG 31] fehlt in den Exemplaren des Novembermenologiums, wohl infolge der Verluste die es erlitten hat. .. BHG 30 steht in V1 und P1 [= Vat. gr. , s. x^{1/4} and Paris gr. 1539, s. x, both used by Viteau for his version B].'

Here is a simplified stemma to illustrate the above:



In 1902 Bidez showed that the author of C used passages from the *Chronography* by John Malalas (c. 490-c. 570) to bolster Katherine's speeches.²¹ In particular, the author more or less quotes – without saying so – parts of chapters 2.18, 4.7 and 2.14, but as John himself used many sources and was employed extensively by later authors, a study of C is badly needed to disentangle the threads.²² There are also similarities between two passages in C and the *Χρησμοὶ καὶ θεολογίαι Ἑλλήνων φιλόσοφων* as well as two verses from the *Iliad*. Unfortunately Bidez did not determine which text has borrowed from which.

Following the discovery of Aristides' *Apology* inside the Greek version of *Barlaam and Joasaph* (BHG 224) at the end of the nineteenth century by J.A. Robinson, Rendel Harris imagined that a similar 'detached' Euhemerus-inspired apology could be

²¹ 'Sur diverses citations, et notamment sur trois passages de Malalas retrouvés dans un texte hagiographique', *ByzZ* 11 (1902), 388-94.

²² See *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. J. Thurn (2000), esp. p. 3*.

traced in the Passion of St Katherine.²³ He connected the two legends because the festivals of Barlaam and Joasaph (27 Nov.) and that of Katherine (25 Nov.) occur in close proximity. Finally, Harris observed that 29 November is the feast day of John of Damascus – whom Harris considered to be the author of the *Barlaam*. This proximity of festivals, coupled with a similar story line in both legends, prompted Harris to compare the two texts.

He supposed that, reading Katherine and *Barlaam and Joasaph* side by side, 'we arrive at the surprising result that a great part of the Catherine story is reproduced [!], with slight variation, in the story of the Indian prince and his teacher – and a careful examination will show that Catherine is the earlier story of the two'.²⁴ As the basis for his investigation he took the metaphrastic text (D). This is problematic for his argumentation because D is a late tenth-century rewriting, and even the source-text (C) of the Metaphrast is a rewriting of B. The problem arises from the fact that Harris saw in John of Damascus (d. c. 750) the author of the *Barlaam*. Thus, according to Harris, John was the author first of the Katherine legend (C or D) and then wrote the *Barlaam*, recycling part of the Katherine-legend in doing so. In any case, Harris rather exaggerated when he said that 'a great part' of material from Katherine's Passion is reproduced in the *Barlaam* – a number of parallels he cited are actually quotations from John Malalas (shared by both *Barlaam* and Katherine), and the rest are a couple of loosely similar sentences.²⁵

As soon as Harris published his findings, Klostermann and Seeberg responded with the assertion that 'die Passio Catharinae von der Chronik des Malalas abhängig ist, und zwar gerade in den Stücken, die R. Harris als Bestandteil einer altchristlichen Apologie ansehen wollte'.²⁶ They did not accept the Euhemerist apology Harris argued

²³ *The Apology of Aristides*, ed. J.R. Harris with an appendix containing the main portion of the original Greek text by J.A. Robinson (1891). See the introduction to *Aristide: Apologie*, ed. B. Pouderon et al. (2003)

²⁴ Rendel Harris, 'A new Christian Apology', *BJRLM* 7 (1922-23), 355-383.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 377.

²⁶ E. Klostermann & E. Seeberg, 'Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina', *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 2 (1924), 66.

for, but assigned Katherine's overarching belief-system, as evident from her speeches, to the sixth or seventh centuries. This belief-system, they pointed out, resembles the teachings of Sophronius and John II of Jerusalem, leading them to conclude that both C and D were written in Palestine. This conclusion is as problematic as that of Harris, because version D was written by Symeon Metaphrastes at the end of the tenth century. Klostermann and Seeberg tried to circumvent this by positing that Symeon came upon D ready-made and included it as it was in his work.²⁷ So far, what we know more or less for certain is that A is a rewriting of B, that C is a rewriting of both A and B, and that C was turned into D by Symeon Metaphrastes. C makes use of several sources, including John Malalas, providing it with a *terminus post quem* of c. 540. C also shares a number of narrative elements with the Greek *Barlaam and Joasaph*, but does not need to pre-date it.

A note on the *Barlaam and Joasaph*. This is not the place to delve into the problems of authorship and dependence between the many versions that this story has given rise to. Suffice it to say that already the manuscripts disagree on who wrote the Greek version: both John of Damascus and Euthymius the Iberian have been promoted since medieval times.²⁸ On the basis of the manuscript- and internal evidence, Kazhdan concluded that the Greek version was probably written by a monk from the Lavra of Sabas in Palestine by the name of John during the ninth century. Temptingly, Kazhdan suggested that the polemic against idols in the *Barlaam* could be read against the backdrop of the Palestinian Christians suffering under Arab rule and from a steady number of converts to Islam.²⁹ A story such as that of *Barlaam and Joasaph* would have provided uplifting reading for anyone doubting the Christian faith. I do not want to

²⁷ See Delehaye's review of Klostermann & Seeberg in *AB* 45 (1927), where he writes on page 153 that Symeon's Passion of Katherine is, 'sans le moindre doute, un remaniement d'un texte plus ancien. Il est possible, il est vrai, que les parties communes à Barlaam et à Catherine proviennent d'une rédaction de la Passio Aecaterinae intermédiaire entre les anciens textes et la métaphore.' He does, however, point out that such a conclusion can only be reached after a thorough examination of the Greek Katherine-corpus.

²⁸ See the overview of the various arguments and a new suggestion by A. Kazhdan, 'Where, when and by whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not written', in *Zu Alexander d. Gr. – Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, ed. W. Will & J. Heinrichs (1988), 1187-1207.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1204.

suggest that the same is inevitably true for Katherine's Passion, but the question does pose itself.³⁰

Matters were given a surprising turn by Vittorio Peri, who argued for a South-Italian provenance for all of A, B, and C.³¹ He based his conclusions on two points: the first redaction of Katherine's martyrdom, A and B, is preserved in thirteen manuscripts from South Italy (out of a total of twenty) – though he seems unaware of the two manuscripts at Sinai (see Appendix I).³² His other argument is the differentiated use of the word βιργίλιος mainly in B but also in A, not only as referring to Vergil but also employed as a noun and adjective. Peri saw this usage as typical of Byzantine South-Italy. However, as he himself pointed out, the Passion of St Artemius (which was attributed to John of Damascus after Peri's article was published) makes reference to Vergil and thus suggests that knowledge of him was not restricted to Italy.³³ Also, Peri seems to have overlooked that Symeon used C to produce his version D – for this to happen the South-Italian version C would have to have travelled back to Byzantium, as would have version B which, as we have seen above, occurs in two copies of the old martyrology of November.

While Peri's conclusion is not impossible in itself – after all, Sicily and the southern tip of Italy were part of the Byzantine empire until the Saracens invaded in c. 820 – it seems to me rather unlikely: why would a South-Italian Byzantine want to write

³⁰ See section 3, Hymns on Katherine.

³¹ Vittorio Peri, 'ΒΙΡΓΙΛΙΟΣ = Sapientissimus: riflessi culturali Latino-Greci nell'agiografia Bizantina', *IMU* 19 (1976), 1-40.

³² Ibid., 9 & n. 1: 'è stata infatti segnalata o riconosciuta fin d'ora, come scritta in Italia meridionale e di là proveniente, buona parte dei codici contenenti l'una e l'altra versione della leggenda e cioè tredici dei venti manoscritti individuati.'

³³ *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, V: Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, ed. B. Kotter (1988), p. 193ff. A cursory glance at Artemius' Passion makes me think that whoever wrote Katherine's Passion might have taken certain narrative elements from Artemius (or is it the other way round?). As regards knowledge of Vergil and other Classical authors in Egypt, see Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (1965²). The majority of papyrus and parchment fragments found in Egypt and containing Vergil and Cicero date from the fourth and fifth centuries AD, see Louise Atkins, *A study of the Greek and Latin bilingual literary texts from Egypt* (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of London, 2000), p. 5-6. Cited by permission of the author and the Chair of the MA Board of Classics.

about and promote the cult of an ‘Egyptian’ saint with connections to Sinai (if we accept that the translation to Sinai of Katherine’s body is part of the original story)?

A tantalizing parallel to Katherine is the figure of the Christian philosopher Pansophios of Alexandria. When he defends his Christian faith in front of his torturer Augustalius, the governor of Alexandria, he quotes the writings of the Sibyl and Vergil as examples³⁴ – much like Katherine. Peeters argued that Pansophios’ speech in chapter 11 is a distant echo of Vergil’s *Georgics* (IV.467-527): the ‘voice of the Persians’ or ‘riches’ ‘Ourbilios’ (Vergil) talked of are in fact Persephone and Pluto which became garbled following their passage via Arabic into Georgian.³⁵ Further, he pointed out that the author of Pansophios’ Passion cannot have taken the Vergil-passage from the Passion of St Artemios because in the latter it is the *Eclogues* which are referred to.³⁶ Peeters also mentioned the Passion of St Katherine as a hagiographical text which includes reference to Vergil.

The Constantinopolitan synaxaria and some recensions of the Armenian calendar commemorate Pansophios’ Passion on 15/16 January. Aside from these short entries, a fuller account of his exploits has survived in a single Georgian manuscript from the thirteenth century.³⁷ Where and when the original (for the Georgian is probably a translation from the Greek, via an intermediary Arabic translation) comes from is open to debate. Peeters (a formidable orientalist with a solid background in Classical literature) suggested, based on the kind of learning exhibited in the text, that it was ‘rédigée à une époque relativement tardive, par un hagiographe alexandrin’.³⁸ Could the same be true in the case of Katherine’s Passion? I do not have the space here, but I think that a close examination of the literary sources in and parallels between such

³⁴ He also mentions ‘Terentios’ and ‘Salustios’. See Paul Peeters, ‘La Passion de S. Pansophios d’Alexandrie’, *AB* 47 (1929), 313.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 313-15. Also Id. ‘Une légende de Virgile dans l’hagiographie grecque’, *Mélanges Paul Thomas* (1930), 547.

³⁶ Peeters, ‘Une légende de Virgile’, p. 552: ‘puisque Pansophios cite Virgile à propos de la mythologie infernale, la source directe de son inspiration n’est pas l’ouvrage allégué dans la Passion d’Artemios: “ή τοῦ Βιργιλίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποίησις, ἣν ὑμεῖς βουκολικὴν ὀνομάζετε”’.

³⁷ Peeters, ‘La Passion de S. Pansophios’, 307-09.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 308. See P. Devos’ obituary of Peeters, ‘Le R. P. Paul Peeters’, *AB* 69 (1951), i-xlvi, with bibliography on xlviii-lix.

apologetic Passions as that of Pansophios, Katherine, Barlaam and Joasaph and others may well shed some light on their (shared?) origins.

3. Hymns on Katherine

The Greek hymns in honour of Katherine, which have received little scholarly attention, can help us in dating her Passion. Hymns, along with the legend, were a useful tool in promoting a saint. While they do not necessarily imply an official cult (as sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities), their sheer existence coupled with the fact that hymns are normally sung on a particular saints' feast day, indicate that someone somewhere was celebrating Katherine's memory.³⁹

Two seventh-century hymnographers, a certain Anatolios and a similarly obscure Babylas each wrote a relatively short hymn on Katherine.⁴⁰ Anatolios' hymn concentrates on Katherine's victory over the chattering philosophers, as well as her suffering of complicated tortures; thus, while it does not betray knowledge of a particular version, it includes important features of her Passion. The hymn attributed to Babylas is half the length of Anatolios' hymn, and mentions both the dogmatic emperor and the defeated philosophers. There are more than one-hundred Byzantine hymns that claim Anatolios as their author but it is difficult to determine when he may have lived. Émureau proposed two solutions: either an Anatolios who was a pupil of Theodore (d. 826) of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople or an Anatolios who was archbishop at Thessalonika in the ninth century. Beck favoured a suggestion by W. Christ who proposes a date before the middle of the eighth century.⁴¹ Even more

³⁹ Versions A and B indicate that Katherine died on 24 November; one day later in C.

⁴⁰ Anatolios = Χαρμονικῶς τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Θεοσόφου. Babylas = βίον ἄυλον ἐξησκημένη. They have been edited on the basis of 12th/13th-cent. manuscripts by A.W.J. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Sticherarium for November* (1938), p. 133-38.

⁴¹ C. Émureau, 'Hymnographi Byzantini', *EO* 21 (1922), p. 265. Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (1959), p. 472, and W. Christ & M. Paranikas, *Antologia graeca carminum christianorum* (1871), p. xli-xlii. Nothing new in Joseph Szövérfy, *A guide to Byzantine hymnography: a classified bibliography of texts and studies* (1978), p. 257.

obscure is Babylas. He has a couple of *idiomela*⁴² to his name, but Émèreau declined to give a date, and Beck added him to his list of seventh-century liturgical poets without giving a reason for doing so.⁴³

The hymn ‘χορείαν σεπτὴν’ edited by José Grosdidier de Matons, an expert on Romanos the Melode, provides a good lens through which to look at the Greek Katherine-texts.⁴⁴ It was written by a certain ‘humble monk’ as the acrostic informs us: τοῦ μόνου ταπεινοῦ ἡ ᾠδή – and has been transmitted in its entirety in an eleventh-century manuscript from Patmos (Ms. 212) and in a further six manuscripts of eastern origin which more or less contain the first three strophes. The oldest of these, Sinai Gr. 925, dated to the tenth century, is misleading because here strophe one (and nothing else) has been added at a later stage. The first three strophes do, however, figure in a tenth/eleventh-century manuscript from Athos (Vatopedi 1041).

This ‘humble monk’ is no stranger as he has also written a hymn in honour of St Peter of Alexandria and SS Eustratios and companions. Grosdidier remarked that this sort of acrostic was typical of the hymnographers working in a loose circle around Theodore of the Stoudios Monastery, who was at the centre of the iconophile resistance at the end of the eighth century and maintained virtual connections with sympathizers all over the empire.⁴⁵ The style of this particular hymnographer, as gleaned from his three hymns, places him in the first half of the ninth century, if not before.⁴⁶ Interestingly, and in contrast with the two shorter hymns by Anatolios and Babylas, the ‘humble monk’ closely follows and uses version B of Katherine’s Passion.⁴⁷ If the dating of the hymn by Grosdidier is correct, and I have no reason to doubt his expertise, then it follows that the hymnographer’s source-text, B, had already been committed to parchment by the end of the eighth century at the latest.

⁴² An *idiomelon* is a hymn that is not modelled on any other hymn in terms of either meter, content, or melody.

⁴³ Émèreau, ‘Hymnographi Byzantini’, 277; Beck, *Kirche und Literatur*, p. 472.

⁴⁴ José Grosdidier de Matons, ‘Un hymne inédit à Sainte Catherine d’Alexandrie’, *T&MByz*, 8 (1981), 187-207.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 187-89.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 200-02.

There is also a canon on Katherine attributed to Theophanes Graptos (d. 845) who was a pupil of Michael Synkellos at the Lavra of Sabas before coming to Constantinople.⁴⁸ By making a connection between Theophanes and Theodore, both active in Constantinople, Grosdidier suggested that Katherine's Passion originated in Constantinople. However, just because at least one hymn using text B was probably written at Constantinople does not mean that B originated from the same place. At the same time, Grosdidier's remark that the Constantinopolitans liked the idea of learned saints can be turned on its head – the same is equally true for the monks at the Lavra of Sabas, who would have enjoyed her learning as much as their colleagues in the capital.⁴⁹

There is evidence for the fact that monks left the Lavra of Sabas and travelled to Constantinople – in c. 813 Michael Synkellos and the brothers Theodoros and Theophanes Graptos arrived in the capital. It is likely that disagreements over theological matters with the patriarch of Jerusalem, as well as the ongoing attacks of the Arabs, contributed to their decision to leave Palestine.⁵⁰ They could have brought with them Katherine's legend – we know that at that time version B already existed. Auzépy, after a close reading of the sources, came to the conclusion that what mattered in Syria and Palestine during the first half of the eighth century was not so much the debate on icon-worship, but the question of dyotheletism and the pressures exerted by the Islamic occupiers.⁵¹ If the origin of Katherine's Passion is to be sought in Palestine, then this background combined with the Arab occupation might explain why it is lacking in any obvious iconophile or iconoclast elements. However, Walsh suggests that Katherine's prayer for her body not to be found can be read as 'making a statement against relics in keeping with the Iconoclast viewpoint', although she does not go so far

⁴⁸ This canon forms part of the office of St Katherine, presumably still in use in the Orthodox Church, see *Ibid.*, 202: 'l'office actuel de Sainte Catherine nous offre encore un canon attribué à Théophane (Graptos).'

⁴⁹ During the eighth century, the Lavra was far from being an unimportant outpost in the South – it was rich and powerful, and a great number of Palestinian bishops of the period had first been monks at the Lavra. See Marie-France Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e – IX^e siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène', *T&MByz* 12 (1994), 186.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 209-11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 197 & esp. 203.



as to argue that it was an iconoclast work.⁵² Yet Katherine's request cannot be taken as evidence for or against an iconoclast author because it is a hagiographical topos already present in Athanasios' Life of Anthony and Jerome's Life of Hilarion.⁵³

I have already mentioned Kazhdan's reading of the polemics against idol-worship in the *Barlaam and Joasaph*. It is precisely because Katherine is against the worship of dumb idols that she confronts the emperor, and gets then drawn into a debate with the philosophers – in all of these debates the notion that manmade idols are able to respond to human needs is portrayed as ludicrous. The detail of the translation of Katherine's body to Sinai occurs in both A and B. This cannot have been a later addition as is evident from the hymn edited by Grosdidier which includes it. The scheme and overall balance of the hymn suggest that this detail is part of its original composition, and hence was already in its source text (B). Following a comment by Delehayé about saints' lives that omit any reference to where the saints' body is, it could be argued that the Sinai-detail in the early Passions of Katherine has some sort of significance.⁵⁴ Katherine's prayer for her body not to be found could indicate her cult to be relatively recent, while the reference to Sinai could be a clue for its origin (although this remains to be proven). Sinai is closer to Palestine than to Constantinople – if one could establish what Sinai's relations were with both Palestine and Constantinople during the eighth and ninth centuries, we would be able to edge closer towards an answer.⁵⁵

⁵² Walsh, 'The early development', p. 55. In both B and A, Katherine begins her prayer thus (with a slight variation in A): Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοί εἰσιν ἐστῶτες καὶ ἐκδεχόμενοι μέρος τοῦ παράσχου μου, διό, Κύριε, εὐδόκησον μὴ εὐρεθῆναι μέρος τοῦ σώματός μου ἐν τῇ γῇ. Viteau, *Les Passions*, p. 38, ch. 24.

⁵³ See *Early Christian Lives*, tr. Carolinne White (1998), p. xxviii.

⁵⁴ Delehayé, *Sanctus: essay sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité* (1927), p. 148-49: 'lorsqu'on prend soin de nous dire que le corps d'un saint a été miraculeusement englouti dans le sol, qu'il a disparu dans la fente d'un rocher .. c'est que pour les anciens eux-mêmes le culte d'un saint dont personne ne connaissait le tombeau avait on coté anormal dont il fallait rendre raison', by adding a prayer on behalf of the saint asking for their body not to be found, for example.

⁵⁵ A and B both end with a colophon that contains information about their author: Ταῦτα ἐγὼ Ἀναστάσιος [A: Ἀθανάσιος], ὁ ταχύγραφος, ἄμα δοῦλος ὑπάρχων τῆς κυρίας μου Αἰκατερίνης, συνεγραψάμην τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς κυρίας μου ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ (Viteau, *Les Passions*, p. 39 chapter 26). I think it would be futile to try and identify who this

There are another two more or less narrative hymns on Katherine that were published by Pitra, of which the ‘Ῥητορεύει σήμερον’ occurs in oriental as well as western manuscripts while the ‘Σοφίαν Θεοῦ ἐκ βρέφους χαριτώσασα’ is particular to Italo-Greek kontakaria.⁵⁶ This hymn, of which the beginning only survives, lists Vergil as one of the authors Katherine was familiar with – a detail that occurs only in versions B and A of her Passion. Finally, Kominis published a canon of nine odes on St Clement, Peter of Alexandria, Mercurius and Katherine – six of which contain a strophe on Katherine.⁵⁷ The kind of information given about Katherine here, including her knowledge of Vergil, again points to knowledge of versions B and A. None of these hymns have an acrostic that would help in determining when and where they were written. A study of these, and the hymns by Anatolios and Babylas, modelled on Grosdidier’s study, could be a step towards answering the questions as to their date and origin.

4. The Legendary München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554

A further help in determining the date of origin of Katherine’s Passion is a Western manuscript, which contains the earliest mention (in the West) of Katherine’s name, in the index to Clm 4554.⁵⁸ This manuscript sports a considerable bibliography, not least

Anastasios/Athanasios might have been, not only because the list of possible candidates is extensive and an identification would be pure conjecture, but also because the colophon is likely to be an addition either by the author himself or a copyist in order to validate the events of the Passion. Who would be able to dispute Katherine’s martyrdom if it was actually witnessed and written down by a member of her household? Anastasios Sinaites would be a perfect candidate: he was a monk at Sinai, lived towards the end of the seventh century and wrote an important hand-book for the fight against Monophysitism, although he is not known to have written any saints’ lives. See Beck, *Kirche und Literatur*, p. 442-46. Homonymity with Athanasius, the author of the Life of Anthony, who actually lived in Alexandria at the time, probably also played a role in the choosing of the name.

⁵⁶ J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, vol. 1 (1876), p. 639-41. The manuscripts are Vat. gr. 2, s. xi and Grottaferrata Δ.α. xxvii, s. xiii

⁵⁷ A. Kominis, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, vol. 2: *Canones Novembris* (1972), p. 489-505. He used the same manuscripts as Pitra.

⁵⁸ The exact spelling of Katherine’s name in this index is not clear: Delehayé cites ‘Ecatarine’ (‘Les martyrs d’Egypte’, *AB* 40 [1922], 124), while Wilhelm (‘Lateinische Akten des hl. Psotius’, *MMPMR* 1 [1911], 193) cites ‘Katarine’. He also prints the entire index on 193-95.

because it is one of the earliest collections of saints' lives known in the West. Siegmund and Philippart have included it in their surveys, and most studies of Katherine's legend mention it.⁵⁹

Both Lowe and Bischoff have provided a precise date and provenance for Clm 4554, assigning it to the end and the turn of the eighth century.⁶⁰ Bischoff identified the three hands of the manuscript as belonging to the scriptorium at Benediktbeuern.⁶¹ The notion that this manuscript was of Frankish origin, still current when Delehaye and Wilhelm wrote their articles, was based on a forgery.⁶² The index of this collection, written in the first hand, contains more than 90 saints' names, but only about a third of the saints are represented with an actual text in the codex – Katherine did not make it.⁶³ We cannot know the reasons for this – most of the saints with a text occur at the beginning of the index, although a couple, whose names occur much further down, also have a text to their name in the volume. It is likely that these omissions are the result of incomplete copying, rather than a loss of folios. These Latin lives are translations from Greek – Delehaye supposed that Clm 4554 derives from a Greek menologium where the

⁵⁹ A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der Lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (1949), p. 206. Guy Philippart, *Les Légendiers Latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (1977), p. 31 & 32. H. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Egypte', *AB* 40 (1922), 124-27. G. Bronzini, 'La Leggenda di S. Caterina d'Alessandria', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 9 (1960), 259. Grosdidier de Matons, 'Un hymne inédit', 203. Jennifer Relvyn Bray, 'The Legend of St Katherine in later Middle English Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1984), p. 9.

⁶⁰ CLA 9, no. 1242. B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* (1974²), vol. 1, p. 22. On p. 27 n. 3 Bischoff referred to the index as: 'ein Inhaltsverzeichnis .. das an hagiographischen Seltenheiten kaum seinesgleichen haben dürfte.' The dating is the same in B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger (2004), II, no. 2970.

⁶¹ Bierbrauer labelled the script 'a pre-carolingian minuscule of several hands (fol. 1-159), Carolingian minuscule of several hands (fol. 160-164).' .. The manuscript was written, following Bischoff, in three separate stages (fol. 1r-96r, 96v-159v, 160r-164v). See Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die Vorkarolingischen und Karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Textband (1990), no. 85 p. 49.

⁶² Paul Ruf, 'Kisyla von Kochel und ihre angeblichen Schenkungen', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 47 (1929), fasc. 1, 461-476. Ruf showed that the 'Schenkungsnotiz' (added as the final folio to Clm 4542), detailing Kisyla's gift of several manuscripts [including Clm 4554] to the monastery at Kochel, was written in an eleventh-century hand which also wrote another spurious 'Schenkungsurkunde'.

⁶³ Wilhelm, 'Lateinische Akten', 192-93.

saints were arranged in calendrical order but, following Dolbeau and a close examination of the index, it is clear that the saints are arranged in an hierarchical order starting with the apostles, popes, bishops, priests and martyrs.⁶⁴

Wilhelm pointed out that there is a manuscript, now at Augsburg (UB Cod. I. 2. 4^o 16), which shares a number of saints' lives with Clm 4554.⁶⁵ The Augsburg manuscript dates from the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, and was probably written at the scriptorium in Tegernsee.⁶⁶ It is a witness to BHL 1659, the Katherine-Passion attributed to Peter, Subdeacon of Naples, who was active in the second half of the tenth century.⁶⁷ Its editor thinks it likely that Peter was the author of BHL 1659 on philological and stylistic grounds. This version 1659 thus cannot be the 'lost' text.

The Bollandists stated (without offering reasons) that the Katherine-Passion referred to in Clm 4554 was BHL 1657 (printed c. 1480 by Mombricitus).⁶⁸ At the beginning of the twentieth century it was generally assumed that a shorter, simpler text was older or more original than a longer text. This may be an explanation for the Bollandists' reasoning. In his comparative study of the Greek and Latin texts, Bronzini concluded that the version in Mombricitus is a shortening of BHL 1658; he further argued that BHL 1658 is very close to the Greek version B (but see the discussion in chapter 2).⁶⁹

A simplified schema may help to illustrate the above:⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Egypte', 125. F. Dolbeau, 'Fragments de manuscrits provenant de Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey', *Scriptorium* 54 (2000), 317.

⁶⁵ Wilhelm, 'Lateinische Akten', 193. At the time, the manuscript in question was still at the Bibliothek Fürst von Oettingen-Wallerstein in Maihingen, Cod. H.B.I.2. (lat.) 4^o 16.

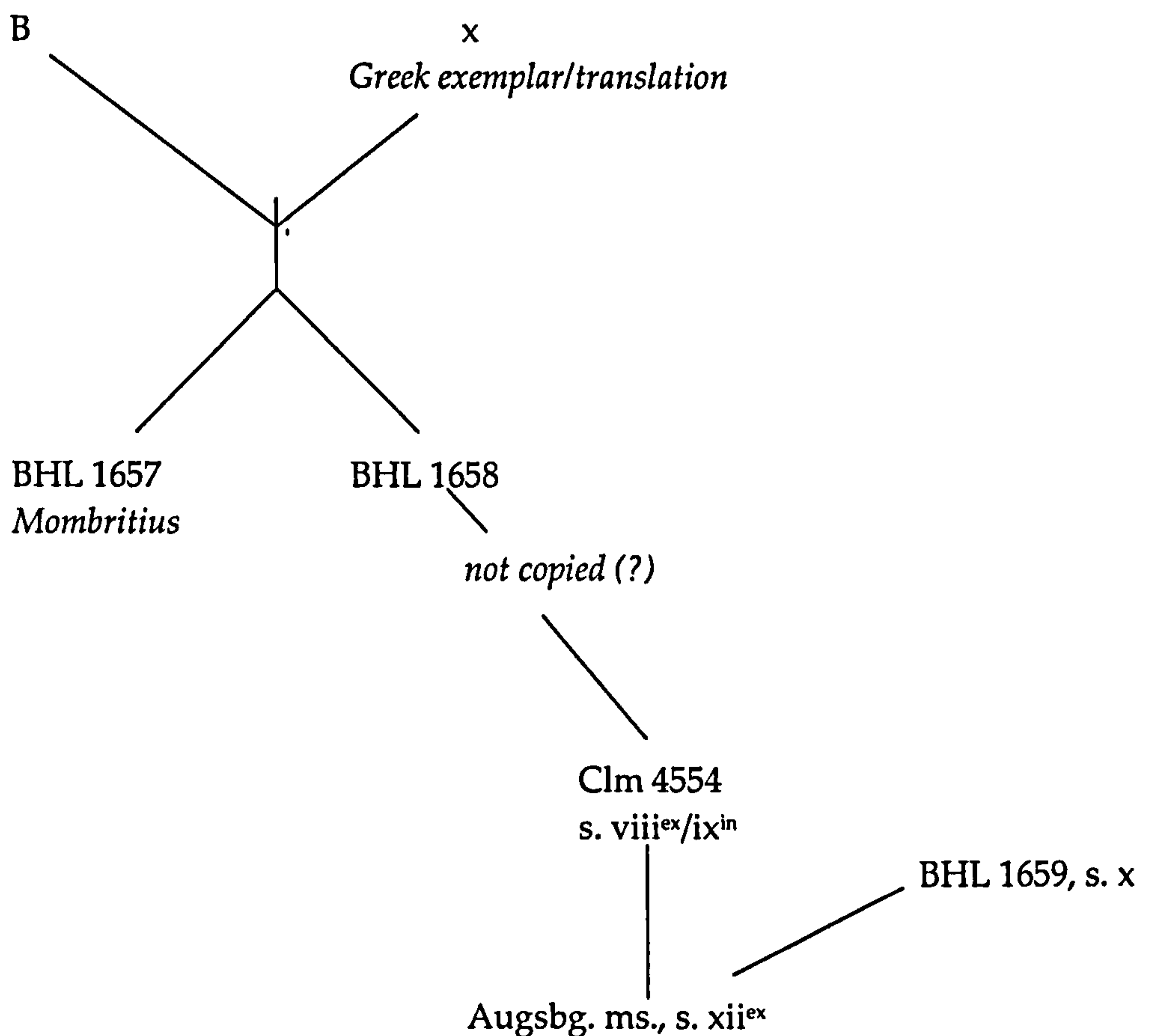
⁶⁶ From a description of the manuscript by Dr Hilg, to appear in 2006/07 as part of the ongoing cataloguing project of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection at the UB Augsburg.

⁶⁷ It has recently been edited by Edoardo D'Angelo, *Pietro Suddiacono Napoletano: l'Opera Agiografica* (2002). Peter used the Greek version A, as well as a derivative text of B, see Bronzini, 'La Leggenda', 342.

⁶⁸ *Propylaeum ad AASS Decembris: Martyrologium Romanum*, ed. H. Delehaye et al. (1940), p. 544: 'sed libellus sic in elencho designatus alius esse non potest atque Passio BHL 1657'. Mombricitus, *Sanctuarium*, vol. 1, p. 283-87. I discuss Mombricitus' method of collecting saints' lives as part of my survey of the Latin Passions in the next chapter.

⁶⁹ Bronzini, 'La Leggenda', 305-18.

⁷⁰ I do not here include the exact relationships of BHL 1657 or BHL 1659 with the Greek and Latin texts. See chapter 2 for a more thorough discussion.



The fact that a now lost Greek manuscript (which included a Passion of St Katherine) or a translated version thereof was used to compile Clm 4554 means that by the turn of the eighth century at the latest such a translation must have made its way north of the Alps. There is no compelling reason to suppose with Bronzini that the exemplar of Clm 4554 was translated into Latin in Carolingian Gaul, as I have mentioned that the Kysila provenance is a forgery, and it was entirely possible for such a translation to have reached Benediktbeuern directly from Italy.⁷¹ For this journey from the East to take place (if we take this as the starting point), and for the text to have been translated into Latin, the original must have been in circulation at least by the end

⁷¹ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 299: 'Ma per la passione di S. Caterina e di altri martiri egiziani un'altra officina di traduzione, particolarmente attiva, lascia scoprire nella Gallia dell'epoca carolingia quel leggendario latino di Monaco, che, come abbiamo detto, registra il titolo di una versione latina, andata purtroppo perduta.'

of the eighth century, if not several decades before.⁷² This squares with Grosdidier's suggestion for a pre-850 date for the hymn 'χορείαν σεπτὴν', and its making use of version B.

5. Calendars⁷³

I now turn to evidence for Katherine's cult that can be gleaned from liturgical manuscripts, and will proceed in chronological order.

A seventh-century Syriac litany?

Katherine's name figures among a number of female saints ('Thecla, Barbara, Iuliana, [.]phtimia, Eupraxia, Melania, Maria, Catharina, Shamunith et septem eius filii supplicamini pro nobis peccatoribus') at the end of a Syriac litany published by A. Baumstark in 1904.⁷⁴ According to the catalogue description it is a translation from the Greek, and dates from the eleventh century onwards.⁷⁵ In his *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, Michael Lapidge pointed out that the *terminus post quem* for this litany is AD 620, the year of the death of John the Almoner, who also features in the list.⁷⁶ By misinterpreting this information, Walsh assumes that this litany dates from the seventh century, cites this as the earliest written reference to Katherine's name, and posits that the saint was already being venerated at that point.⁷⁷

⁷² Travellers from East to West include Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (634-38), who is known to have journeyed widely in Egypt, Palestine and even Rome, *ODB*, s.v. Sophronios. Theodore of Tarsus arrived in Canterbury in 669 via Constantinople and Rome. For an overview of Theodore's life and achievements, see *Archbishop Theodore: commemorative studies on his life and influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge (1995).

⁷³ Walsh's study 'The early development' has provided a useful starting point for the exploration of the oriental manuscripts discussed in this section.

⁷⁴ Anton Baumstark, 'Eine syrisch-melchitische Allerheiligenlitanei', *OC* 4 (1904), 98-120.

⁷⁵ J.S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (2000, reprint of 1719 edn), vol. I, p. 615. Vat. Syr. 77 belongs to a group of manuscripts which the author *advexit ex Oriente*. I am indebted to Dr Sebastian Brock for the reference and the dating.

⁷⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. Michael Lapidge (1991), p. 17.

⁷⁷ Walsh, 'The early development', p. 78.

However, a comparison with a number of Syriac synaxaria shows that Katherine only starts appearing in these manuscripts during the twelfth century at the earliest.⁷⁸ Moreover, the *terminus post quem* of 620 does not allow for such an early dating of Vat. Syr. 77, even though the Greek original probably came from the patriarchate of Antioch.⁷⁹ Most of the female saints who surround Katherine in this litany originate from Asia Minor, although Eupraxia (Thebes), Melania (Rome), and Maria (Egypt?) have a more universal appeal. They do not as a group suggest an origin from Antioch, a city which exerted enormous influence within the Orthodox Church, but began losing its importance during the seventh century, partly as a result of the Arab conquest.⁸⁰ I think it is more likely that the inclusion of Katherine in this litany occurred much later than Walsh would like to think, and cannot be taken as evidence for a cult in the seventh century.

*Georgian and Arabic manuscripts*⁸¹

Our preoccupation with Greek and Latin must not obscure the fact that Byzantium, and especially Syria and Palestine, were thriving with religious activity and attracted people from all over the empire. For example, John Zosimos, whose hand has been identified in at least two Georgian manuscripts now at Sinai, was one of generations of Georgian

⁷⁸ See Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires Melkites (xi^e-xvii^e siècles)* (1969). Sinai Ar. 421 (s. xii): Katherine is a later addition; Sinai Ar. 418 (1237): Katherine is a later addition; Sinai Ar. 420 (1287), Katherine is a later addition; Sinai Ar. 421 (1237). Sauget (p. 84-85) mentions another manuscript which also contains the translation of Katherine's body to Mt. Sinai: Harissa (Lebanon), Convent of St Paul, Ar. 70 (s. xvi) – a nice little project would be to transcribe and translate this account: it might well shed more light on the arrival of Katherine's relics at Sinai. Dr Sebastian Brock very kindly directed me in Sauget's direction.

⁷⁹ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, p. 17.

⁸⁰ LMA, s.v. Antiocheia.

⁸¹ This is only an initial survey, but the kind of evidence I have come across suggests that many more oriental manuscripts in Eastern, and probably European libraries, may contain lives or other accounts of Katherine. The Synaxarion of the Coptic Church has no trace of Katherine's name or feast-day; see CE, s.v. Synaxarion.

monks who were active at the scriptorium of St Sabas from the eighth until the tenth centuries.⁸²

Besides mainly liturgical texts such as offices and hymns, Sinai Georg. 34 contains on folios 25r-33v a calendar starting on January 1, which includes Katherine under the 24th November. Garitte showed that John wrote this part of the manuscript probably before 973 at St Sabas. A colophon on fol. 143 mentions his name,⁸³ but John also indicates the sources he used for the composition of the calendar on fol. 33v: 'haec synaxes [ex] 4 exemplaribus {Georg. 'deda' = mother, model} a me descriptae sunt: praecipue canonis {Georg. 'kanoni'} [exemplari], et Graeciae [exemplari], et Hierosolymae, et Sancti Sabae.' John's principal source is the Lectionary of Jerusalem (and partly transcribed by John in Sinai Georg. 37), a Byzantine Greek model, an exemplar from Jerusalem and one from St Sabas.⁸⁴ The interesting point here is that the calendar in Sin. Georg. 34, according to Garitte, on occasion bears resemblance to the calendar in Patmos 266 for which Mateos has suggested a Palestinian origin (see below).⁸⁵

Other Georgian manuscripts now at Sinai containing Katherine's *Vita* are Georg. 6, Georg. 71, and Georg. 91, of which Georg. 6 is the earliest.⁸⁶ Again the hand of John Zosimos can be identified, along with others, and a colophon on fol. 224 dates the process of transcription and binding of the entire codex to 981, 982 and 983 while also indicating that the volume was destined for Michael, a 'decanus' at the monastery of Sinai.⁸⁷ The texts in this, and the other two manuscripts, are entirely hagiographical,

⁸² Gérard Garitte, *Le Calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle)* (1958), p. 17.

⁸³ '.. haec hymnaria menaea .. in quo (sic) scripta sunt festa omnia nova et antiqua integre, et horae 12 integre, iberice (= Georgian) et secundum Sancti Sabae [ordinem], et chronicon integre omnino, et aliae multae dispositiones, mihi gratificatus est Dominus describere in Laura et deserto sancti patris nostri, .. scriba huius [libri] Iohannes .. qui hoc scripsimus' (Garitte's translation of the Georgian). Ibid., p. 16.

⁸⁴ 'Ce qu'il designe comme sa source principale et qu'il appelle 'canon' (*kanoni*) ne peut être que le lectionnaire hierosolymitain, qui était bien connu de Jean'. Ibid., p. 23.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 23 & 31-32.

⁸⁶ Georg. 71, s, xiii, fol. 201v-215. Georg. 91, s. xiv, fol. 106a-115b.

⁸⁷ Gérard Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du mont Sinai* (1956), p. 26.

and are all Georgian translations from the Greek – in the case of Katherine the Greek text used is BHG 30.⁸⁸

Another, relatively early, manuscript from Sinai is Ar. 542 which contains a tract on the skull of St Katherine. Atiya dated it to the late ninth and early tenth centuries in his catalogue, but offered no other information.⁸⁹ Kamil added that there is 'a note in this ancient Codex mentioning that the text has been translated from Greek into Arabic in the year 155 Hijra (771 AD)'.⁹⁰ However, it is not at all clear whether this note refers to the text adjacent to it or the entire manuscript; if it refers to the entire manuscript, then Katherine's skull (at least) could have been at the monastery as early as the eighth century. This, in turn, would raise questions about the origin of her legend, which must be linked in some way to these relics because B, the earliest text, already includes the translation of Katherine's body to Sinai (confirmed by Grosdidier's hymn). It is tempting also to speculate on the contents of this tract – if it were to talk about the arrival of the skull at the monastery this would be to my knowledge the earliest indication we have regarding the matter.⁹¹ The skull and hand are still at the monastery today.⁹²

There is also at least one other Arabic manuscript, used by Paul Peeters for his edition of the Arabic version of Katherine's Passion (BHO 26).⁹³ Unfortunately, Peeters

⁸⁸ BHG 30 here still refers to both version A and B. The distinction of the two versions was not reflected in the BHG until 1969, when A became BHG 30 and B became BHG 30a, see F. Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae* (1969).

⁸⁹ Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (1955), p. 22. Other Arabic manuscripts at Sinai preserving texts of Katherine are Sinai Ar. 533, AD 1237 (Life of St John the Theologian, Mimar of St Andrew Bishop of Crete, Martyrdom of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, Life of St Catherine) and Sinai Ar. 548, AD 1306 (selection from the Paradise of the Fathers with several interpolations including two Mimars by St Ephraem and an encomium to St Katherine), see p. 20 & 22.

⁹⁰ Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai* (1970), p. 50.

⁹¹ I am currently awaiting the arrival of a microfilm of this manuscript, and hope to be able to procure a transcription and translation of the passage in question as soon as possible.

⁹² Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, 'The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer', *DOP* 53 (1999), 165. For a picture of the blackened and gold-encrusted skull and hand see H. Skrobucha, *Sinai* (1966), p. 75.

⁹³ Peeters, 'Une version Arabe' 5-32.

did not provide the call-mark or date of the manuscript in question, although he indicated that it was probably written c. 1750.⁹⁴ As in the case of the Georgian manuscripts, the Arabic is a translation from the Greek, BHG 30.⁹⁵

This suggests that BHG 30 was a little more successful than its later redaction A, as the absence of BHG 31 (C) from the old martyrology of November implies. Given that BHO 26 was translated on the basis of B (rather than A), one may suppose that this is the case for these other translations also, although short of examining the Georgian and Arabic texts I cannot prove this. In any case, well before the monastery of the Theotokos changed its name to reflect the growing importance of Katherine, the manuscripts indicate that she must have been known by the Sinai-monks at least during the tenth century, if not before.

Constantinopolitan calendars

The shortest prototype of what was to become the synxarion of Constantinople is preserved in fragmentary form in a ninth-century manuscript written in Greek uncial.⁹⁶ Ehrhard printed the contents as he found them in a previous description of the manuscript, and 'Aikaterine' is listed on the 25 November. While this evidence must be treated with the necessary caution because a reappraisal of the manuscript's date is needed, the inclusion of Katherine's name in a manuscript of this prototype which emerged between the middle of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries, points to some sort of recognized cult of the saint at least by the time the manuscript in question was copied.⁹⁷ It is virtually impossible to determine from where in the Byzantine empire Katherine entered this calendar, but later manuscripts can help to complete the picture.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 12, where he cites another, probably contemporary, manuscript, Vatican Ar. 696 (92) which also contains a Life of Katherine.

⁹⁵ 'Variété de forme plutôt que de fond, car il ne se distingue du récit traditionnel que par des traits insignifiants et par les maladresses du traducteur', Ibid., 5.

⁹⁶ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, vol. 1, p. 28-29: Athos, Skiti of St Andrew, Cod. 2.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

The fully-fledged synaxarion⁹⁸ as it was used at Constantinople and preserved in Jerusalem, Holy Cross, Ms. 40 (s. x/xi) does not contain Katherine's name either on 24 or 25 of November.⁹⁹ There is, however, an earlier manuscript which contains the same text but with slight variations and that does list her name. Patmos, St John, Ms. 266 (s. ix/x) preserves the whole text of the typicon used at Patmos, and was probably written by a monk from the Lavra of St Sabas.¹⁰⁰ This typicon was essentially Constantinopolitan but adapted for usage at a monastery outside the capital. On the basis of the possible provenance it is tempting to stipulate that the Palestinian scribe had inserted Katherine into the synaxarion of the typicon because he had encountered her cult when still at the Lavra. This would mean that she was 'in circulation' at least during the tenth century in Palestine; this seems to be corroborated by the fact that John Zosimos, likewise from the Lavra, had transcribed or collaborated on a manuscript containing Katherine's Passion.

Another early manuscript of the synaxarion, now in Paris (Paris gr. 1590, AD 1063), includes a short paragraph on Katherine's exploits, with an emphasis on her knowledge of Greek authors and Vergil. The detail of the debate with the philosophers and their death has been left out. Another early witness for the Synaxarion is the *Menologium Basilianum* (MB), so-called because it was written for the Emperor Basil II (976-1025) after 979 and possibly in c. 1005.¹⁰¹ The lay-out and decoration of this

⁹⁸ *Synaxarion* refers to a collection of saints' lives arranged according to the liturgical calendar. The *Typicon* is a book that regulates the liturgical order of the service. In Byzantium there existed that of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and for the monastic office that of Constantinople (Monastery of Stoudios) or that of Jerusalem (St Sabas) which became the dominant form from the eleventh century onwards. *LMA*, s.v. Typikon.

⁹⁹ Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise: Ms. Sainte-Croix n. 40, x^e siècle*, vol. 1: *Le cycle des douze mois* (1962), p. ix.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. viii-ix. For the dating see p. xviii: 'toutes les parties du ms. .. peuvent donc être datés ensemble, comme le proposait le P. Delehaye [*Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Delehaye (1902)], de la fin du ix^e siècle ou du début du x^e.' The monastery of St John the Theologian at Patmos was founded by Christodoulos (who had also been a monk at Latros from 1076-79) on the Palestinian model in c. 1088. It saw its heyday during the twelfth century, when it also had its own scriptorium. *ODB*, s.vv. Patmos, Christodoulos of Patmos.

¹⁰¹ Vat. gr. 1613. The entire manuscript is available as a facsimile: *Il menologio di Basilio II (cod. vaticano greco 1613)* (1907). For the date: 'The miniatures are often signed by their painters of whom one, Pantoleon, could be the same painter attested elsewhere. This would make the

manuscript is almost without equal: the ‘absolute balance .. between text and image is unparalleled in any other calendar cycle: each occupies half a page, and just as each miniature, regardless of content, has been composed to fit a prescribed space, so each Synaxarion text has been modified so as to take up exactly 16 lines on the page.’¹⁰²

In contrast to Patmos 266, but like Paris gr. 1590, this manuscript provides not only Katherine’s name on November 25, but also some details on her martyrdom, taken mainly from the beginning of the story. The composition and layout of the *MB* indicate that the texts used were shortened in order to fit them on the page, so that the omission of certain episodes was due to lack of space.

Symeon Metaphrastes (died c. 1000), a writer and high official in Constantinople, systematized the lives of the saints in his monumental *Menologion*, of which there are more than 800 extant copies.¹⁰³ Ehrhard showed that Symeon reworked most of the texts he used, that Katherine was part of his original composition, and that the text at the basis of Symeon’s Katherine-version was C (BHG 31).¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to explain why Symeon did not use B or A as models for his Katherine-version. There remains also the problem of where to slot in the ‘old November-martyrology’ (as a witness for B) – Ehrhard provisionally concluded that its sources have been lost, so we cannot determine when and from where Katherine entered it.¹⁰⁵

We know that Paul the Younger, according to the account of his *Life*, had a soft spot for Katherine.¹⁰⁶ He was a monk at the monastic centre of Latros near Miletus,

Menologion contemporary with the *Psalter* of Basil II (Venice Mar. Gr. 17, dated to c. 1005).’ *ODB*, s.v. *Menologion* of Basil II.

¹⁰² *ODB*, s.v. *Menologion* of Basil II. See also Plate 7.

¹⁰³ It is generally agreed that Symeon was a contemporary of Basil II; *ODB*, s.v. Symeon Metaphrastes.

¹⁰⁴ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, vol. 2, p. 393.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 469 & 508-9.

¹⁰⁶ Chapter 39: Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἁγίων αἱ μνημαὶ εὐφροσύνης ἀφορμαὶ τῷ Παύλῳ· ἡ δὲ τῆς μάρτυρος Αἰκατερίνης οὐχ ἡδονῆς μόνον ἐπλήρου τὸν ὄσιον, ἀλλὰ μικροῦ καὶ σκιρτήματος· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐώρταζε ταύτην οὐ σωματικῶς ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ παρακιρῶν αὐτῇ καὶ πνευματικὴν ἀγαλλίασιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πλεῖον διδοὺς τῷ πνεύματι. Hippolyte Delehaye, ‘Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro’, *AB* 11 (1892), 5-74 & 136-82.

where he died in December 955.¹⁰⁷ His *Vita* was written around twenty years after his death; the earliest manuscripts date from the eleventh century.¹⁰⁸ Its author thus knew of Katherine in 975, and it is likely that Paul did too – the *Vita* contains many references to contemporary events which can be cross-checked with parallel documents.¹⁰⁹

By the end of the tenth century Katherine's Passion has been translated into Georgian and Arabic, and probably into Latin as the index of München Clm 4554 suggests – in the case of the Georgian and Arabic translations the text used by the translators was always BHG 30 (whether A or B is not clear) which clearly illustrates the success of this version, and can also be taken as evidence for the later emergence of BHG 31 (C). The inclusion of Katherine's name in some of the early manuscripts of the synaxarion of Constantinople, albeit with uncertainty over the date, indicates that her cult was officially recognized at this point. Moreover, it seems that the Lavra of St Sabas in Palestine played a part in the diffusion of her cult.

Katherine's name has also made it into the *Suda*, although it is merely listed as a proper name, and no reference is made to the saint herself (Αἰκατερίνα: ὄνομα κύριον), while the Neo-Platonist philosopher Hypatia of Alexandria, who has often been linked with Katherine by those eager to make of the saint an historic figure, commands several paragraphs.¹¹⁰

Grosdidier's study of the hymn 'χορείαν σεπτὴν', combined with the evidence provided by the index of München Clm 4554, points to the existence of a Greek version before the end of the eighth century. In all likelihood this was version B. We know that this version was circulating in Palestine and was translated into Georgian at the Lavra of St Sabas by the end of the tenth century. If we also take into account the (as yet unexamined) tract on the skull of Katherine from the end of the ninth (?) century,

¹⁰⁷ ODB, s.v. Paul of Latros.

¹⁰⁸ For the date see Hippolyte Delehaye, 'La vie de Saint Paul le Jeune et la chronologie de Métaphraste', in *RQH* 54 (1893), 54. For the manuscripts, see Delehaye (1892), 8-10: Paris BN gr. 1490 (Colbertinus 2722, regius 20343), Paris suppl. gr. 916, Paris Coislin. 148.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 57.

¹¹⁰ *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (1928-38): Αἰκατερίνα, II, p. 167; Ὑπατία, IV, p. 644-45.

Palestine emerges as a likely country of origin. Geographically it is a little closer to Sinai than Constantinople, although that is all that can be said at the moment.¹¹¹

South Italian Calendars

The earliest evidence for the celebration of Katherine's feast in South Italy is to be found in two manuscripts. A lectionary contained in Athens National Library Ms. 74, a Greek manuscript, includes a menologion which lists four saints for the 25th November: Pope Clement I, Peter of Alexandria, St Mercurius and Katherine.¹¹² This group of saints is not particular to the South of Italy: early manuscripts of the Typicon of Constantinople (such as Patmos 266) commemorate exactly the same saints on 25 November. The lectionary under consideration here was in all likelihood copied between 965 and 1000, by a scribe called Leo who was a member of a Greek monastic community in Southern Italy, perhaps the Patir Monastery in Rossano.¹¹³ A well-known monk from this community was Nilos of Rossano (d. 1004), who is known to have had contacts with the monastery of Monte Cassino.

This is where the second calendar, in Beneventan script, was written, c. 969-987 (Monte Cassino Ms. 230).¹¹⁴ It is possible, therefore, that knowledge of Katherine reached Monte Cassino through contacts with the Greek monastic communities in the South of Italy. At the same time, however, we know that at the time of the abbot Manso (986-96), a number of monks left Monte Cassino and travelled to the East. The future abbots John III (997-1010) and Theobald (1022-35) set out for Jerusalem. John, in fact, is said to have lived on Mt Sinai for six years and then relocated to Mt Athos before

¹¹¹ The absence of Katherine in the Syriac synaxaria could be a potential problem to this conclusion.

¹¹² See Maria Zolota, 'A study of Athens, National Library Ms. 74, with an edition of its Menologion (ff. 203-214)' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of London, 2000), p. 10, cited by permission of the author and the Chair of the MA Board of Late Antique and Byzantine Studies. I am grateful to Dr C. Dendrinos for bringing this study to my attention.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. vii-viii. According to the ODB, this monastery was not founded until the beginning of the twelfth century (s.v. Patir). Zolota does not seem to take this into consideration.

¹¹⁴ Virginia Brown, 'A new Beneventan Calendar from Naples: the lost *Kalendarium Tutinianum* rediscovered', *MS 46* (1984), 395 & 418-19.

coming back to South Italy.¹¹⁵ Both Theobald and John, especially the latter, might well have come into contact with Katherine during their stay in the Byzantine sphere of influence. Towards the end of the eleventh century Katherine's name occurs more frequently in both Beneventan calendars and martyrologies.¹¹⁶ It is from this period, and particularly from Monte Cassino, that two versions of Katherine's Latin Passion survive.¹¹⁷

That the official cult (at least) of Katherine only reached Italy during tenth century is corroborated by the early martyrologies. For example, the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, the martyrology attributed to Bede, or the Calendar of Naples all celebrate Peter of Alexandria on 25 November and have no knowledge of Katherine.¹¹⁸ In Rabanus Maurus' martyrology, Katherine's name only appears in one manuscript as a marginal entry from the twelfth/thirteenth centuries.¹¹⁹ At the end of the tenth century Katherine and Peter still appear in direct competition, but I think the impact of the 'Vulgate', amongst other factors, pushed Peter into the background by the end of the eleventh century.

I have not discussed early pictorial representations of Katherine, partly as this is beyond the scope of this thesis but also because in many cases their dating is controversial and often difficult. Katherine appears on the walls of a number of Cappadocian churches, from the beginning of the tenth century onwards, but the dating

¹¹⁵ *Egressus hinc Ierisolimam orationis causa profectus est atque in monte Syna per sex continuos annos commoratus. Inde vero in Grecia monte, qui Agionoros vocatur, per aliquot temporis spatia conversatus est.* 2.22 *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* (Chron. Cas.), ed. Hartmut Hoffmann (1980). See also Herbert Bloch, 'Monte Cassino, Byzantium and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages', *DOP* 3 (1956), 171.

¹¹⁶ See Brown, 'A new Beneventan Calendar', 393-94 & 418-19.

¹¹⁷ See chapter 2.

¹¹⁸ *AASS Nov.*, vol. 2 (1931); for Bede see J. Dubois & G. Renaud, *Edition pratique des martyrologes de Bède, de l'anonyme lyonnais et de Florus* (1976), p. 215. The only entry on 25 November is Peter of Alexandria: 'cum quo simul et alii plures ex Aegypto episcopi' (from Hist. Eccles. IX); for the Calendar of Naples see H. Delehay, 'Hagiographie Napolitaine', *AB* 57 (1939), 5-64. On p. 59 Delehay proposed the period of 849 to 872 for its composition because the calendar does not commemorate Bishop Athanasius I of Naples (March 849 - July 872, relics translated in 877).

¹¹⁹ St Gall Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 458, s. ix⁴; *et natale Sancte Katerine virginis et martyris*. See *Martyrologium Rabani Mauri*, p. xxxvii-xxxix.

of individual frescos is uncertain.¹²⁰ Walsh provides a short summary of the Italian wall-paintings and their various dates, ranging from the seventh to the thirteen centuries. The fresco with a more or less certain date is that in the apse of the Roman Church of San Sebastiano alla Poveriera, which appears to be part of the original decoration dating back to the end of the tenth century.¹²¹

English Calendars

From the Mezzogiorno we have to leap all the way to the North of Europe for more evidence on Katherine's burgeoning cult. Interestingly, Katherine appears in calendars from England before her name is included in French calendars from the end of the eleventh century onwards.¹²² Out of the 27 manuscripts included by Rushforth in her atlas of saints in Anglo-Saxon England, only two list Katherine under 25 November.¹²³

In London BL Cotton Vitellius E.xviii her name occurs on fol. 7r, in a second but near-contemporary hand.¹²⁴ This manuscript contains a paschal table on fol. 8v, which calculates the day of Easter from 1031 until 1063. It seems likely therefore that it was

¹²⁰ See Marcell Restle, *Die Byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, vols. 2 & 3 (1967): Göreme I – chapel El Nazar (plate 13:i); Göreme 9 – chapel of Theotokos, John the Baptists and George (plate 129:xii); Irhala Sümbülü Kilise – church of the Hyacinth (plate 493:lvi). Katherine often appears paired up with Barbara, see Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Eglises Byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (1991), p. 106. The mosaics of the Katholikon at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas (in central Greece) from the late tenth or early eleventh centuries depict Katherine alongside Irene, Barbara, Euphemia, Marina and Juliana, see Carolyn L. Connor, 'Female Saints in Church Decoration of the Troodos Mountains in Cyprus', in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko & Christopher Moss (1999), p. 213 & fig. 2.

¹²¹ Walsh, 'The Role of the Normans in the Development of the Cult of St Katherine', in *St Katherine of Alexandria*, ed. Jenkins & Lewis, p. 23 n. 21.

¹²² I have checked the various catalogues of French breviaries, missals and other liturgical manuscripts published by V. Leroquais in the 1920s & 30s, and Katherine's name is either a later addition in manuscripts from the eighth to the tenth centuries, or only starts appearing in the main hand in manuscripts from the end of the eleventh century onwards. Of course, Leroquais is not exhaustive, though nevertheless a good starting point. See *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 6 vols (1934), *Les Psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (1941-41), *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (1924).

¹²³ Rebecca Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England* (2002).

¹²⁴ I am grateful to Julian Harrison for this observation.

written prior to 1063. This calendar is similar in appearance and content to other Winchester manuscripts in Rushforth's atlas, and on this basis she assigns it a Winchester provenance, probably from the New Minster.¹²⁵ The calendar in London BL Cotton Vitellius A.xviii was written in the last decades of the eleventh century, with additions up until the first half of the twelfth.¹²⁶ In this manuscript, Katherine's name, on fol. 8r, is clearly an addition in that later hand. The manuscript itself comes from South-West England although scholarly opinion is divided over whether it was written at Canterbury, Sherborne, Winchester or Glastonbury.¹²⁷

That Katherine's name should appear in a pre-Conquest calendar is not as surprising as it may seem at first. Edward the Confessor, son of King Aethelred II and Emma of Normandy (the sister of Duke Richard II of Normandy), had after all spent several years living in exile in Normandy before returning to England in 1041.¹²⁸ From the account of his Life we learn that on his return Edward surrounded himself with Norman noblemen, including Robert of Jumièges who was the king's close advisor, and eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051.¹²⁹

Robert had been prior of St Ouen in Rouen before he became abbot of Jumièges, just up the river Seine, in 1037. When Goscelin, a confidant of Duke Robert I, decided to found a monastery dedicated to the Trinity at Rouen (Sainte-Trinité-du-mont-de-Rouen) in c. 1030, he managed to get both Roberts to sign the foundation charter, along with a bishop Hugh. Robert the churchman was not only a signatory to the monastery's

¹²⁵ Calendars with a Winchester provenance: Cambridge University Library Ms. Kk.v.32; BL Cotton Titus D.xxvii; BL Arundel 60. For a short description and bibliography of the manuscript see Rushforth, *Atlas*, p. 34.

¹²⁶ I am grateful to Julian Harrison for this dating.

¹²⁷ For a short description and bibliography of the manuscript see Rushforth, *Atlas*, p. 36.

¹²⁸ See Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (1997, new edn), p. 39-42.

¹²⁹ 'Cum predictus sancte memorie Aedwardus rex repatriaret a Francia, ex eadem gente comitati sunt quam plures non ignobiles uiri, quos plurimis honoribus ditatos secum retinuit idem rex, utpote compos totius regni, ordinariosque constituit secretorum consilii sui, et rectores rerum regalis palatii. Inter quos conuenerat abbas quidam Rodbertus nomine, qui trans mare monasterio prefuerat Gemeticensi, quique potissimum, ut aiunt, regi semper astitit a secretis Emigrante autem episcopo Lundonie, regio fauore successit hic in sede eiusdem pontificalis cathedre' I.3, *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Frank Barlow (1992²).

foundation charter but was also Goscelin's uncle.¹³⁰ It is tempting to conjecture that Robert kept himself informed about what was happening in Rouen: the acquisition of Katherine's relics after the establishment of the monastery was surely something he must have known about.¹³¹ Could it have been Robert who brought to England knowledge of Katherine?

Edward the Confessor is said by John Flete to have given a relic of Katherine to the relic collection of Westminster Abbey.¹³² However, as Flete was writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, and Katherine was a household name by then, we cannot be certain that Edward had really acquired and then presented this flask of oil to the abbey by the time he died in 1066. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the (presumably) oil-oozing bones of Katherine at Rouen had filled this flask before Edward's death.

By the middle of the eleventh century, a Passion of Katherine had already travelled across the channel to England – the transcription of the text in BL Harley 12 dates c. 1125-1150 and is in fact an epitome of the *Vulgate*.¹³³ As the same version is preserved in several continental manuscripts, it seems more likely than not that it arrived in England in its epitomized form.¹³⁴ But how did Katherine get from South Italy to Normandy (and from there to England)? I will explore the possible answers to this question in the following chapter.

Conclusion

As I have illustrated so far, the exact origin of Katherine's Passion still eludes us – although evidence suggests that it originated in Palestine rather than Constantinople.

¹³⁰ Walsh, 'The Role of the Normans', p. 20-21.

¹³¹ R. Fawtier, 'Les reliques Rouennaises de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie', *AB* 42 (1923), 367-68, suggested that the relics arrived at the monastery in Rouen during the lifetime of its first abbot Isambert, i.e. between 1033 and 1054. Walsh, 'The Role of the Normans', p. 22, after an examination of the sources, comes to the same conclusion.

¹³² 'Sanctus Edwardus dedit .. oleum de tumba sanctae Katherinae', p. 72 l. 27, *John Flete: The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (1909).

¹³³ I am grateful to Julian Harrison for the dating.

¹³⁴ See the edition of the epitome, chapter 5.

Crucially, the hymns in honour of Katherine, at least one of which is based on the Greek version B, can be dated with some degree of certainty to the first half of the ninth century (i.e. 800-850). It thus follows that B predates this period. Could not the Passion be a product of a community under stress from the Arab invaders in the first half of the seventh century? A close study of the microfilm of Sinai 542 which is said to contain a tract on Katherine's skull may shed some light on the connection with her Passion to Sinai. Does the invention of the relics precede the legend, or is it the other way round?

What is clear though is that, in spite of, or perhaps because of, her fictitious character Katherine captured the imagination of those who went on to promote her cult, who wrote and rewrote her story and composed hymns to be sung in church. Unlike Pansophios, Katherine is well-documented in Arabic, Georgian, Greek and Latin, and from Italy manages to leap to France and from there, by means of the 'Vulgate', into every corner of medieval Europe.

Timeline

381-84	Egeria's Travel
548-565	Justinian I builds monastery, dedicated to Theotokos
613-19	Persians capture Emesa, Damascus, Jerusalem & Alexandria, and thus occupy Syria, Palestine and Egypt ¹³⁵
636 Egypt	Battle of Yarmuk – Arabs now occupy Palestine, Mesopotamia and Egypt
637	Arabs capture Jerusalem and Antioch
639	Muslim invasion of Egypt
7 th cent.	(?) Hymnographers Anatolios and Babylas
726-87	Iconoclasm – first period
771	Tract on Katherine's skull translated from Greek (see 875-925 below)
pre-800	BHG 30a (B)
c. 813	Michael Synkellos and brothers Graptoi travel to Constantinople from Palestine
815-43	Iconoclasm – second period
pre-840	München BSB Clm 4554, copied at Benediktbeuern index suggests existence of a Greek version
pre-850	Hymn 'χορείαν σεπτὴν'; principal source is BHG 30a (B) composed at Constantinople?
875-925	Sinai Ar. 542 – Tract on Katherine's skull (translated from Greek in 771?)

¹³⁵ This and other dates regarding Persian and Arab advances into Byzantium taken from Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992); Id., *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (2003).

900-1100	Patmos Ms. 266 – Synaxarion of Constantinople copied at Lavra of St Sabas
965-1000	Athens National Library 74 – Menologion written in South Italy, Patir Monastery in Rossano (?)
969-87	Monte Cassino Arch. Della Badia 230 – Beneventan calendar written at Monte Cassino
973	Sinai Georg. 34 - Calendar copied by John Zosimos at the Lavra; principal source for the Lectionary of Jerusalem
975	Life of Paul the Younger – Paul venerates Katherine (<i>ante</i> 955)
980s	John (later John III abbot of Monte Cassino) spent six years on Mt Sinai
981-83	Sinai Georg. 6 - Georgian translation of BHG 30 (A or B ?) copied by John Zosimos at Lavra of St Sabas
979-1005	Menologium Basilianum
pre-1000	Symeon Metaphrastes – creates version D (BHG 32) by using version C

CHAPTER 2

Diffusion of cult and diffusion of texts

The relationship between the diffusion of Katherine's cult and the diffusion of the Latin texts of her Passion is complex. The relationship between the two is not very clear so that it is difficult to determine which of the two preceded the other. One potential story, certainly for the arrival of Katherine's relics in Normandy, is that of Symeon of Trier, for which there is a rich documentary context. The role of Symeon in relation to the dissemination of Katherine's cult is often cited; as a consequence other, more likely, channels for its arrival in the West have been overlooked so that it is necessary to explore more fully the contacts Normandy had with other countries. Moreover, the arrival of these Katherine's relics at Rouen does not automatically entail a direct link with the *Vulgate* or any other version, although there appears to be a connection between some texts and the oil that is said to flow from both Katherine's tomb and her relics.

Following the arrival of Katherine's cult and Passion in Italy, a number of Latin translations and reworkings started to appear as early as the tenth century. While the Greek versions behave in a fairly straightforward way, that is to say it is relatively easy to identify a version from which all others descend, the same is not true for the Latin versions. There is a huge degree of contamination between all these texts, although in some cases it is possible to determine how close they are to the Greek texts.

The *Vulgate* is conspicuous, though not extraordinary in that respect, for leaving out any historical or geographical details that could determine where it was written. The epilogues found in the Greek and at least one Latin version do not appear, and there is no dedication or authorial indication at the beginning. Neither is there any mention of Rouen or any other place (except Mt Sinai) – if the *Vulgate* was written in direct response to the arrival of Katherine's relics at Rouen one would expect there to be some reference to the latter or to where they were being kept (as in the *Sanctae*

Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia saec. xi [T&M]¹). The absence of this detail does of course not exclude the possibility of the text having been written in connection with the relics, but the question as to whether this really was the case nevertheless arises.

I begin by looking at the itineraries of Symeon of Trier, one potential messenger for Katherine. Starting from his arrival in Rouen I trace the connections between the *Vulgate*, the *T&M* and Peter's (subdeacon of Naples) version of Katherine's Passion, until I arrive in Italy, where the Greek Passions were translated and adapted into Latin a number of times. Again, Monte Cassino emerges as a focal point for Katherine's cult in Italy. In more general terms, south Italy with its connections to Normandy provided the bridge across which the story of Katherine may have reached northern France.

1. Symeon of Trier

Symeon of Trier, 'instructus enim Aegyptiaca, Syriaca, Arabica, Graeca et Romana eloquentia',² finally retired from the world in c. 1030; by this date he had travelled twice across the Mediterranean from the Holy Land to France and Trier.

The son of a Greek father and a Calabrian mother he was born in Syracuse, and taken by his father to Constantinople 'ibique eruditissimis viris sacris inbuendus litteris traditur et in timore Domini diligenter enutritur'.³ As an adult he travelled to Jerusalem where he was a tour-guide for pilgrims for seven years. He lived in monasteries in Bethlehem and Sinai,⁴ and also spent time as a hermit or living in the desert. At one

¹ A. Poncelet, 'Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia saec. xi', *AB* 12 (1903), 423-38, esp. 429 (ch. 5): 'His igitur mellifluis animatus verbis simul et exhilaratus promissis, vir inclitus Goscelinus ocius sanctum opus aggreditur, collectaque manu artificium, haud procul ab urbe Rothomagi in vicino monte nobile Deo visus est condidisse templum.'

² *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.D. In the Greek world he was apparently referred to as 'pentaglossos', see M.C. Ferrari, 'From Pilgrim's Guide to Living Relic: Symeon of Trier and his Biographer Eberwin', in *Latin Culture in the eleventh century*, ed. Michael W. Herren *et al.*, vol. 1 (2002), p. 327.

³ *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 89.C.

⁴ 'ad aliud monasterium, quod est situm ad radices Montis Sina, in eo scilicet loco ubi S. Moyses ardentem vidit non ardere rubum'. *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 89.F. 'In vertice autem

point his brethren chose Symeon to travel to Normandy in order to bring back alms from Richard II:

interea fratres aliqui pro necessitatibus loci Occidentalibus partibus directi, moriuntur. Pecunia pro qua fratres abierant, quae de terra Richardi comitis Normanniae monasterio debebatur, ab ipso diligenter conservatur, et ut aliquis fidelis frater mitteretur, qui eam monasterio deferret, per legatos mandatur. Communi consilio ad hanc obedientiam, famulus Dei Symeon destinatur.⁵

After his ship was attacked by pirates, Symeon reached Antioch where he met the abbot Richard and the abbot Eberwin. He finally arrived in France via Rome,⁶ and 'a quodam igitur sibi noto Comite Wilhelmo benigne suscipitur, et apud eum aliquamdiu moratur'.⁷ While he remained there his travelling companion Cosmas died.⁸ Symeon then continued on his journey to Rouen, but discovered that Duke Richard had died in the meantime – and so he went to visit Richard of St Vanne instead.⁹ He returned to

Montis Sinai, eo videlicet loco quo Moyses gloriam Domini vidit et legem in tabulis lapideis scripsit, aliud monasterium erat, quod propter Arabitas incursantes, qui per illam eremum semper vagantur, omni habitatore desertum remanserat'. *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 90.A.

⁵ *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.A.

⁶ 'prosperumque iter faciens per Romam pervenit in Franciam'. *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.E, although several of the eleventh-century manuscripts do not mention his sojourn in Rome, see Tuomas Heikkilä, *Vita S. Symeonis Treverensis: ein hochmittelalterlicher Heiligenkult im Kontext* (2002), p. 118.

⁷ *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.E.

⁸ 'In illis ergo partibus quidam monachus Cosmas nomine, vir sanctissimus, quem secum de Antiochia adduxerat, moritur'. *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.E.

According to L. Eckenstein, *A history of Sinai* (1921), another of Sinai's monks died in Europe (p. 137): 'another bishop was Jorius [Γρηγόριος?], who died and was enshrined in Béthune in Belgium in the year 1033. A hymn there written in his honour described him as "bishop of Sinai".' I have so far been unable to verify this.

⁹ 'solus venit Rothomagum .. ubi cum Richardum Comitem jam mortuum reperisset, et de pecunia et censu qui de terra illius pro eleemosyna suo monasterio debebatur, nullus sibi responsa daret, moestificatus aliquantulum, non pro suo labore, sed quod locus montis Sinai frustratus esset tanta utilitate: toto corde conversus ad Deum, quid aegeret quaerit consilium. Occurrit autem animo ut suum carissimum Patrem, Richardum scilicet abbatem, nosque suos comites inviseret: quod et fecit'. *Vita Sancti Symeonis*, AASS Junii I, p. 91.E.

Jerusalem in the company of archbishop Poppo of Trier. In 1030 he came back with him to Trier where he had himself immured in the Porta Nigra. He died there in 1035.¹⁰

Almost immediately after his death and at the instigation of Poppo, Eberwin the abbot of St Martin of Trier, composed the Life which eventually resulted in Symeon's canonisation before 1039 at the hands of Pope Benedict IX.¹¹ Symeon's *Vita* and *miracula* survive in c. 50 manuscripts; the oldest of these date from the eleventh century and come from such places as Aulne (near Liège), St Gall, Trier, Echternach, Fécamp, Liège, Fulda, and Paderborn.¹² Two points in Eberwin's account are corroborated by contemporary sources, demonstrating that a) connections between Sinai and Rouen existed at the beginning of the eleventh century and that b) Symeon did indeed pass through France in the 1020s.

According to Radulfus Glaber, the Dukes of Normandy, particularly Duke Richard II of Normandy (*d.* 1026), were known for their generosity towards the monastery at Sinai as well as to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem:

Dona etiam amplissima sacris ecclesiis pene in toto orbe mittebant, ita ut etiam ab oriente, scilicet de nominatissimo monte Sina, per singulos annos monachi Rotomagum venientes, qui a predictis principibus plurima redeuntes auri et argenti suis deferrent exenia. Hierosolimam vero ad

¹⁰ Symeon of Trier was not the only Greek who came to live in the West: Symeon of Reichenau, a native of Achaea in Greece, had been given a jug by the patriarch of Jerusalem. It was stolen from him, so he set out to find it and eventually reached the monastery at Reichenau where it stood on the altar. The account of how the jug reached the Reichenau is the *raison d'être* for the *Vita Symeonis Achivi*, written before 985 and preserved in five manuscripts, the oldest of which was written before the end of the tenth century. See W. Berschin & T. Klüppel, 'Vita Symeonis Achivi', in H. Maurer, *Die Abtei Reichenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters* (1974), p. 115-24. Simeon of Polirone, or the Armenian, had lived in the desert as well as at Jerusalem until he arrived in Italy. Following his death in 1016 he was canonized by Pope Benedict VIII; the account of his life was written before 1024 by an anonymous Benedictine monk. See Paolo Golinelli, 'La vita di s. Simeone monaco', *StudMed* ser. 3a, 20 (1979), 709-88. A detailed bibliography of this Simeon can be found in *BBK*, s.v. Simeon.

¹¹ See Heikkilä, *Vita S. Symeonis*, p. 138-46. Eberwin also wrote the Life of Magnericus (*BHL* 5149), a sixth-century abbot of Trier, who (re-)founded the abbey St Martin of Trier, see *BBK*, s.v. Magnerich,

¹² A description of the extant manuscripts can be found in Heikkilä, *Vita S. Symeonis*, p. 148-66.

sepulchrum Salvatoris centum auri libras secundus misit Richardus, ac quosque cupientes illuc devote peragraré donis iuvabat inmensis.¹³

Glaber, who died in 1047 and spent most of his life in various Burgundian monasteries, probably did not have a vested interest in linking Richard with Sinai or Jerusalem (unless for propaganda purposes), though it is likely that Richard's gifts to these churches were useful tools in promoting him as a Christian ruler. Thus, well before 1026 – the year of Richard II's death – it seems to have been established practice for monks to set out from Sinai on a regular basis to receive whatever Richard had in store for them.

Before reaching Rouen, Symeon and his travelling companion Cosmas stayed with one Count William, probably William IV Taillefer and Duke of Angoulême.¹⁴ Taillefer was away on pilgrimage to Palestine from 1026 to 1027, and from Eberwin's Life of Symeon we know that Symeon arrived in Rouen after the death of Richard II in 1026, so it seems likely that Symeon, if he did meet Taillefer, did so after the latter had returned home.

An indirect witness to this is Ademar of Chabannes (c. 989-1034), a monk of St Cybard d'Angoulême; he is known for his *Chronicon* as well as for his attempts to have St Martial recognized as an apostle, although this undertaking ultimately failed. In his efforts on behalf of St Martial Ademar even forged a decree in support of Martial's apostolicity and inserted it into the canons of the Council of Limoges (held on 18 and 19 November 1031).¹⁵ At one point in the proceedings 'quidam eruditus ex ipsis Engolismensibus clericis' gives an account of how

ante hos plures annos quidam ex fratribus de monte Sinai in hanc partem advenerunt occiduam Dei disponente nutu, moribus graves, doctrina

¹³ Book 1.27, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri quinque*, ed. & tr. John France (1989). Book 1 was originally written before 1030 and revised c. 1036-41, see p. xlv. One of the oldest manuscripts to preserve the text is Paris lat. 10912 (alias suppl. lat. 1013), perhaps an autograph, see p. lxxxiv and xxxvi.

¹⁴ Richard left in 1026 for a pilgrimage to Palestine, returned to Angoulême in 1027 and died in 1028. See *Ademari Cabannensis: Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain *et al.* (1999), p. vii-viii.

¹⁵ These canons survive in one autograph manuscript: Paris, BF lat. 2469, c. 1030. They are available in print, see PL 142, cols. 1354-1400.

catholicae fidei profluentes, vita per omnia honesti, utriusque linguae periti; qui, cum diu nobiscum Engolismae fuissent exspectantes principem civitatis, et litteris Graecis et Latinis eos videremus ad unguem imbutos, super hac re interrogare curavimus eos.¹⁶

.. itaque illos conveni Graecos, sciscitans utrum Orientales Martialem nossent. Qui, alter Symeon, alter nomine Cosmas, consono ore responderunt, dicentes: 'nescimus praeter duodecim apostolos.'¹⁷

R.L. Wolff pointed out that it would 'be absurd to imagine that two Greek monks of Sinai .. ever told the clerk of Angoulême what Ademar claimed to have heard from them about St Martial'.¹⁸ But the point is that Ademar probably did meet these two monks, that they were Symeon and Cosmas, and that they also provided him with information which he incorporated into his *Chronicon*.¹⁹

2. Rouen - Goscelin's monastery

At about the same time as Symeon began his life as a recluse in the Porta Nigra, plans were afoot in Rouen to found a new abbey. The Norman nobleman Goscelin, a confidant of Duke Robert I (1027-37), and his wife Emmeline founded the abbey of La

¹⁶ PL 142, col. 1363C.

¹⁷ PL 142, col. 1364A.

¹⁸ R.L. Wolff, 'How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or, The Pursuit of a Hare in an Ox Cart', in *Essays in honor of Sir Steven Runciman* (1979), p. 139-89, esp. 183.

¹⁹ One of the interpolated passages in the *Chronicon* occurs at Book 3.47. Here Ademar recounts events that took place in September 1009: 'Ad monasterium quoque montis Sinai, ubi quingenti et eo amplius monachi sub imerio abbatis [*sic*] manebant, habentes ibidem proprium episcopum, venerunt Sarracenorum decem milia armatorum, ut monachos perimentes habitacula eorum cum ecclesiis diruerent. Propinquantes autem a quatuor fere milibus, conspiciunt totum montem ardentem et fumantem, flammisque in celum ferri, et cuncta ibi posita cum hominibus manere illesa. Quod cum renunciassent regi Babilonio, penitencia ductus tam ipse quam populus Sarracenus valde doluerunt de his quae contra Christianos egissent, et data preceptione, jussit reaedificari basilicam Sepulchri gloriosi. Tamen redincepta basilica, non fuit amplius similis priori nec pulchritudine nec magnitudine quam Helena mater Constantini regali sumptu perfecerat'. *Ademari Cabannensis: Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain *et al.* Ademar's *Chronicon* exists in three recensions, preserved in a number of manuscripts; Paris lat. 5943A was written by Ademar himself, see Bourgain, p. xiii-xxxix. Ademar can only have obtained from an outside source the detail of the abbot of Sinai also being its bishop (the abbot of Sinai first appears as a bishop in the Acts of the Photian Council of 869-70, see G. Hofmann, 'Sinai und Rom', *OCA* 9 [1927], 225.), as well as the description of the monastery going up in flames as the Saracens approached it. See Wolff, 'How the News', p. 142-50, for a discussion of this and another three passages which contain information about Byzantine and Levantine events.

Trinité du mont at Rouen in c. 1030. The charter of Robert's confirmation of the foundation of La Trinité survives.²⁰ The German Isembert, who had been a monk of St Ouen at Rouen, became abbot of La Trinité in 1033:

quendam etiam venerabilem virum, nomine Isembertum, genere Teutonicum, tam divinis quam humanis litteris eruditissimum et in omni religione perfectum, qui in coenobio sancti Audoeni antistitis praefatae urbis professus fuerat monachum, eidem ecclesiae praeficiunt.²¹

Orderic Vitalis tells us that during Isembert's abbacy the monk Ainard, also a German, wrote an account of Katherine's Passion:

fuit natione Teutonicus, geminaque scientia pleniter imbutus, versificandi et modulandi cantusque suaves edendi peritissimus. Hoc evidenter probari potest in historiis Kiliani Guirciburgensis episcope et Katerinae virginis, aliisque plurimis cantibus quos eleganter idem edidit in laudem Creatoris. In iuventute vero studio religionis flagrans venerabilem Isembertum abbatem expetiit, eiusque disciplinis pro amore Dei se gratanter submisit, et in coenobio sanctae Trinitatis quod Goscelinus de Archis in monte Rotomagi ad orientalem plagam construxerat monachatum suscepit.²²

Orderic's description clearly indicates that this account was a prime example of Ainard's ability to compose chants. In their introduction to the late Middle English prose legend of Katherine, Nevanlinna and Taavitsainen suggested that Ainard's

²⁰ A. Deville, 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité-du-mont-de-Rouen', in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. M. Guérard, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 3 (1840), p. 421-23, charter 1 (date is given: 'anno dominicae incarnationis millesimo tricesimo'). The manuscript with 97 charters from 1030 until 1091, all about donations to and the acquisition of land by La Trinité at Rouen, is written in an eleventh-century Norman hand. An analysis of the donors, their motivations and donations would be extremely rewarding – many charters include references to contemporary events and other details.

The *T&M* describe the event thus, ch. 5: 'quod beatae memoriae Robertus, eiusdem urbis pontifex, cum nonnullis coepiscopis, praesente inclito duce Normannorum Roberto, excellentissimi principis Ricardi, .., qui etiam iam in Domino obierat, filio, suique totius regni primoribus ac plebe innumerabili, septimo kalendas septembris consecravit in honore sanctae et individuae Trinitatis sanctaeque Dei genitricis Mariae atque omnium sanctorum, anno videlicet millesimo tricesimo ab incarnatione Domini'.

²¹ *T&M*, ch. 5. See also Fawtier, 'Les reliques', 363. Isembert was consecrated on the same day as the new church of St Wandrille was dedicated – an event that is said to have taken place on 12 September 1033.

²² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. & tr. M. Chibnall (1969-80), bk III, p. 352-4. A different Ainard was the teacher who wrote a glossary for his pupils at Saint-Evre at Toul, and dedicated it to its abbot Aprus in the year 969 under Otto the Great. See *Ainardo: Glossario*, ed. Paolo Gatti (2000).

account is in fact the *Vulgate*, but they furnished absolutely no evidence for identifying him as the author.²³

During the eleventh century La Trinité appears to have grown in importance, and was able to increase its holdings through the generosity of its principal benefactors, including the Dukes of Normandy, Robert I, and William the Conqueror, as well as noblemen such as Robert d'Eu, William fitz Osbern, Raoul de Varenne, Roger de Montgomery, Gautier Giffard, as well as its founder Goscelin d'Arches.²⁴ In 1069 William the Conqueror, at the suggestion of William fitz Osbern, gave to the abbey a 31-hide fief at Harmondsworth in Middlesex which it held until 1391.²⁵

Certainly by 1083 La Trinité had acquired a reputation for healing, as attested by a charter (the first explicitly to make reference to Katherine) which records a grateful believer's gift to the abbey. Fulcoi of Caldri and his wife Ita gave to the abbey the fourth part of a church in 'Behervilla' in gratitude for Fulcoi's healing through Katherine's relics:

anno dominicae incarnationis mxxxiii, ego Fulcoio de Caldri, ob ipsius mei corporis inremediabilem infirmitatem, montem Sanctae Trinitatis Rotomagensis adii, ubi sacratissimae ac venerabilis virginis et martiris Caterinae miro miraculo cotidie ab omnibus longe lateque venerantur ossa, ipsiusque interventu ibidem sospitatis munus accepi. Quamobrem notum

²³ S. Nevanlinna & I. Taavitsainen, *St Katherine of Alexandria: the late Middle English prose legend in Southwell Minster ms 7* (1993), p. 5. They make several other wrong assumptions about the textual corpus of Katherine, a consequence of only relying on secondary sources. Their suggestion seems to have been taken up by the *Handlist of manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, vol. VIII, s.v. 21876A as: 'An abridged version of the eleventh-century Latin *Life* of St Catherine of Alexandria by Ainard of Rouen (fol. 1v-24)'. Also, in his review of Nevanlinna & Taavitsainen, Roger Dahood writes: 'The Vulgate version is contemporary with or earlier than Ainard's and was more widely copied. The erroneous attribution appears to arise from misreading of a chart in William MacBain's edition of Clemence of Barking's *Life of St Catherine* (1964, p. xiv)', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 744.

²⁴ Deville, 'Cartulaire', p. 408.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 455, charter 67 (date: 'anno dominicae incarnationis mxxviii'): 'Willelmus, dux Normannorum, regnum adeptus Anglorum, .., consilio et suggestione fidelis sui Willelmi, filii Osberni dapiferi, qui comes erat palatii, dedit Sanctae Trinitati de Monte, in perpetuam hereditatem, terram quae anglie Hermodesodes nuncupatur, cum ecclesiae et omnibus sibi pertinentibus .. '. Domesday Survey: Introduction V', *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1: Physique, Archaeology, Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organization, The Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes to 1870, Private Education from the Sixteenth Century* (1969), pp. 98-118.

sit omnibus catholicae ecclesiae filiis, quod ego et uxor mea Ita eidem Sanctae Trinitatis loco damus quartam partem ecclesiae in villa quae vocatur Behervilla, ceteraque ad eandem ecclesiae partem pertinentia.²⁶

The abbey was destroyed in 1597 under Henry IV.²⁷

3. Symeon's apparent role in the arrival of Katherine's relics at Rouen

While Glaber attests to links between the Normans and Sinai, and Ademar confirms Symeon's presence in France during the 1020s, neither they nor Eberwin know anything of the saint's participation in the arrival of Katherine's relics in Rouen. The reason they are all silent about this event is because at the time of their writing there were no Katherine-relics at Rouen. However, once they did arrive, it was necessary to ensure they were seen as authentic. Both the author of the *T&M* and Hugh of Flavigny realized the potential of Symeon – a *bona fide* saint by 1039 – as a legitimizer of the cult and added to their versions of the story what they claimed had been left out of the previous accounts.

Hugh of Flavigny expressed surprise that the Life of Symeon did not mention such an important event, while the *T&M* – which Hugh had read in a book at Rouen – did:

Igitur ad beatum Symeonem reflectentes articulum, quid apud Richardum Normaniae principem egerit, sicut in armario Rothomagensi continetur, licet libellus vitae eius hoc sileat, paucis explicemus.²⁸

He then proceeds to fill the gap, and relies in his account of Symeon's involvement on the *T&M*.²⁹ This means that during Hugh's lifetime a copy of the *T&M* of Katherine's relics was kept at a library in Rouen, perhaps even at La Trinité, which had (as we have

²⁶ Deville, 'Cartulaire', p. 466-67, charter 90.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 408.

²⁸ Bk 2.26, *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis abbatis Flaviniacensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz (1849, repr. 1925), p. 283-502. The *Chronicon* has been transmitted in only one manuscript, an autograph: Berlin SBPK Ms. Phill. 1870, s. xi², prov. Verdun.

²⁹ The clinching phrase is: 'opem sibi medicinae reportant', as well as 'cum illo salutaris olei liquore tria admodum minuta de sarcofago distillantia meruit ossa excipere; quae diligenter collecta et in concha vitrea cum ipso oleo recondita secum conservavit multis profutura'. *T&M*, ch. 2; *Chronicon*, bk 2.26.

seen above) by this time acquired a reputation for healing.³⁰ The *translatio* part of the *T&M* tells of how the monks of Sinai, posted at the saint's tomb on a weekly rota, used to collect the oil that oozed from Katherine's tomb:

[fratres] hisque alii vicissim sibi per hebdomadas succedentes, ad glebam incliti corporis divinis intenti excubiis inserviunt, sacrumque oleum, quod de illo effluere non desinit, in vitreo vase supposito debilium usibus reservandum summa cum veneratione excipiunt.³¹

The lucky one among them was Symeon, who, by divine favour, was granted a special gift: 'nam cum illo salutaris olei liquore tria admodum minuta de sarcofago distillantia meruit ossa excipere'.³² He stored them away safely for some future use – which sets up the conferral of the relics by Symeon on Goscelin's foundation when he passes through Rouen.

In the preface to his edition of the *T&M* Poncelet proposed 1050 or shortly after as the date of its composition. He based this on the fact that Isembert, who is referred to in chapter 5, seems to have died by 1054.³³ Fawtier fixed the *terminus post quem* at 1054 (arguing that Poncelet's information on Isembert's death in 1050 was faulty) and proposed as the *terminus ante quem* the year 1090, based on a reference to a certain Odo towards the end of the account.³⁴ For the time of the arrival of the relics in Rouen a detail in the penultimate miracle can help: Katherine's relics were taken to Caen where a council was being held under William II in 1047.³⁵ If this evidence is taken at face value it would then seem that the relics were at Rouen under abbot Isembert, furnishing the *terminus post quem* of 1033 and the *terminus ante quem* of 1047.

³⁰ Hugh was a Benedictine monk and historian, and became the abbot of Flavigny in 1096. He started writing his history in about 1090, and recorded events up until 1102. In an appendix to the *Chronicon* he added a list of the abbots of Flavigny.

³¹ *T&M*, ch. 2.

³² *T&M*, ch. 2.

³³ The author of the *T&M* talks of Isembert as if recently dead ('hic siquidem, quod vixit, coenobium sibi commissum strenue et laudabiliter rexit ac utilibus monachis a se decenter instructis plurimum nobilitavit', ch. 5), Poncelet, 'Les reliques rouennaises', 357.

³⁴ R. Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie', *AB* 41 (1923), 356, 363 n. 4.

³⁵ Poncelet, 'Translatio et miracula', 438. As suggested by Walsh, 'The early development', p. 132.

A French verse version of Katherine's passion, perhaps written as early as the twelfth century, clearly points to the link between Isembert and the relics.³⁶ The problem with this text though is that it is not only a fragment, but also preserved in only one manuscript from the thirteenth century. Even if it was written in the twelfth century, it is entirely possible that by then the link with Isembert was topical and does not necessarily point to its date as Fawtier thought. It is more likely to have been written by someone who knew a little more about the relics than just that they oozed oil.³⁷

Fawtier's main objective, however, was to show that the *T&M* could not be taken at face value, mainly because the account it gives of Symeon's stay in Rouen does not square at all with Eberwin's Life of Symeon.³⁸ According to the *T&M*, Richard II was still alive when Symeon arrived with his followers in Rouen, even though Eberwin points out that Symeon arrived by himself in Rouen only to find Richard dead.³⁹ As regards the foundation of the Trinity at Rouen, the *T&M* rightly points out that this happened with the approval of Robert I.⁴⁰

What has happened, then, is that the author of the *T&M*, aware of Richard's reputation as an alms-giver to Sinai, 'kept him alive' in order for him to meet Symeon and thus make the latter's stay in Rouen seem more plausible. By the same token Symeon needs to stay with Goscelin in order for the couple to reveal to him their desire

³⁶ l. 180-83: De[l] tut ne pas est povre l'einzne de Normandi[e]: / Treis os i ad acertes de sainte Katerine, / Danz Yzeberz li abes l[es] ad en sa baillie, / A Sainte Trinité a[u] Mont en l'abeïe. E.C. Fawtier-Jones, 'Les vies de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie en Ancien Français', *Romania*, 56 (1930), 94.

³⁷ 'Que l'on voie dans ce texte une œuvre contemporaine d'Isambert ou que l'on y voie seulement la traduction française – ou plutôt normande – de la Vie écrite par Ainard, ce texte nous fournit une preuve ancienne de la présence des reliques à la Trinité-au-Mont au temps de l'abbé Isambert', Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises', 367.

³⁸ R. Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises', 357-68.

³⁹ *T&M*, ch. 4.

⁴⁰ The *T&M* seems to make a distinction between Richard II (d. 1026) and Robert I (d. 1037), by referring to Richard as *Ricardus Normanniae princeps* (and again *princeps*, both at ch. 3; twice more *princeps* at ch. 4 and 5) and Robert as *duce Normannorum Roberto* (ch. 5); see D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (1982), p. 148-51, who discusses the terms *dux* and *princeps* and concludes that *dux* was the preferred title of the Normans – in the case of the *T&M* the differentiated use of the two terms could simply be to distinguish the two men.

to found a monastery – this gives the saint the perfect opportunity to gift Katherine's relics to this foundation, and he loses no time in urging Goscelin and Emmeline to carry out their idea.

Fawtier, in order to save both Eberwin's account and the T&M, reluctantly admitted that Symeon must have smuggled the relics because he found himself without other resources, and then kept quiet about it.⁴¹ Eberwin might well have blocked out all reference to Katherine, in order to keep the focus on Symeon, whose canonization was at stake. At the same time, however, one could argue that Symeon's bestowal of the relics could have further added to his reputation. In the end Fawtier concluded that Symeon probably had nothing to do with the arrival of Katherine's relics at Rouen, but that he was a useful legitimizer for their existence there.⁴² But before anyone could successfully place the relics of a saint at an ecclesiastical centre, there must first have existed a demand for these. In other words, knowledge of Katherine and her Passion probably preceded the acquisition of her relics by La Trinité, Rouen. If Symeon was not the messenger, or only an incidental one, how did the Normans become acquainted with Katherine?

⁴¹ Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises', 365.

⁴² Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises', 368: 'Il est d'ailleurs facile de voir comment l'auteur des *Miracula* a opéré. Il a connu les reliques, il a voulu, avant d'en décrire les merveilleuses interventions, en garantir l'authenticité. Il avait lu Eberwin et il savait que Syméon avait passé à Rouen à l'époque où s'élevait le monastère qui contenait de son temps les reliques; le corps de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie se conservait au Sinaï, S. Syméon venait du Sinaï. Il était donc tout naturel de mettre les reliques que le monastère se vantait de posséder sous la sainte garantie du reclus de la Porta Nigra.'

While Symeon may not have brought with him to Europe relics of St Katherine, his satchel certainly contained at least one manuscript. Other than Symeon's hat and shoe, the 'Domschatz' at Trier preserves a Greek Old Testament lectionary (*prophetologium*) (callmark: HS 72 [143 F]), which is said to have been Symeon's. Its possible Sinai-provenance remains unresolved, although the dating to the turn of the eleventh century is confirmed. For a discussion of the manuscript see Sysse G. Engberg, 'Trier and Sinai: Saint Symeon's Book', *Scriptorium* 59 (2005), 132-46.

The Greek monk and priest Elias is said to have written a lectionary (Paris gr. 375) in 1021 at Cologne. See A. Bayer, 'Griechen im Westen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: die Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, ed. Anton von Euw & Peter Schreiner (1991), p. 341.

4. Connections between Normandy and Italy

Towards the end of the tenth century, Katherine's cult had leapt from Byzantium to south Italy: two tenth-century calendars from south Italy are evidence for this. And it is in Italy that the first Latin accounts of Katherine appear. From Italy, knowledge of Katherine could easily have reached Normandy via several channels: Italians who travelled to Burgundy and Normandy, pilgrims returning from the Holy Land and/or via Italy, and the burgeoning Norman presence in south Italy. In this sense Richard's connection with Sinai and Jerusalem was probably incidental.

By 942 the abbeys of Jumièges and St Ouen at Rouen had been revived, while Mt St Michel housed a community of canons.⁴³ But Norman monasticism did not come into its own until the arrival of a number of foreigners; the most important for the period under consideration was William of Volpiano.⁴⁴ Born in Turin, he had been a monk at Cluny before arriving at St Bénigne in Dijon in 989 in order to reform its monastery. His success led Duke Richard II to invite him to Normandy in 1001, where he became the abbot of Fécamp. From there he also reformed Jumièges, Mont St Michel and St Ouen in Rouen. He thus imbued some of the most important Norman abbeys with aspects of the Cluniac reform and pushed forward the development of their libraries which had already begun to flourish (as at Jumièges and St Ouen). Under his aegis schools and scriptoria were founded, along with libraries to house all the books necessary for this newly-discovered intellectual ardour. Many of the monasteries were

⁴³ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 31.

⁴⁴ The best-known of these Italian reformers was Lanfranc, under whom the abbey of Le Bec-Hellouin attained a remarkable intellectual reputation after his arrival there in 1041-42. When Lanfranc was chosen as the first abbot for the new abbey of St Étienne at Caen, Anselm (another Italian) became the next prior of Le Bec. They remained in epistolary contact with each other, and while Lanfranc was the archbishop of Canterbury he asked Anselm (who was to hold the same post from 1093) for a copy of the *Moralia in Job* and for works of Ambrose and Jerome. See Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (1971), p. 34-39.

in regular and lively contact with each other, borrowing books and scribes. These relations also extended abroad, notably to England and Italy.⁴⁵

Before William of Volpiano visited France, the great monastic reformer Odo of Cluny (d. 942), had travelled to Italy on several occasions, and during his time there he brought his reform-movement to monasteries such as Monte Cassino and Farfa. His Italian travelling-companion and soon-to-be biographer, John of Salerno, seems also to have accompanied him back to France on at least on one occasion.⁴⁶ Either of the two monks could have taken a text on Katherine out of Italy and brought it to Cluny or Fleury, perhaps even that of Peter (see below).⁴⁷ This would result in a *terminus ante quem* of 942 (the year of Odo's death) for Peter's composition of the Katherine-legend. If this seems a little early, other travellers to and from Italy include Adalbero, the bishop of Verdun (and future bishop of Metz), who went on a journey to Salerno in 984.⁴⁸

For centuries people had travelled on pilgrimage to Rome, cult-centre of the apostles Peter and Paul, and seat of the Pope. There was also traffic between sees and Rome for the bestowal of the *pallium* on archbishops (and later also onto bishops, although personal presence in Rome was not necessary until after the Gregorian reform⁴⁹), as well as for other church matters. Aside from church-related travel, there was also traffic of goods across the Alps into France. The other destination in direct competition with Rome was Jerusalem, which attracted pilgrims from the West in

⁴⁵ 'Les relations intellectuelles entre monastères dépassent même souvent les limites de la province. Quelques manuscrits italiens pénétrèrent en Normandie, apportés par les moines lombards ou par des pèlerins.' Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ 'Illo enim tempore quo cum Geraldo Regiensis ecclesiae episcopo Cotias transivimus Alpes, et Romam venimus pariter ..'. Bk II.6, *Vita Sancti Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis secundi*, John of Salerno, PL 133, col. 64A.

⁴⁷ In his article on a translation of St Matthew, de Gaiffier argued that the detailed knowledge of Breton and Salernitan history displayed in it could be sought at the monastery of Fleury, which had connections with both places in the tenth century (namely, Odo of Cluny whose devoted pupil for two years had been John of Salerno). See Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie Salernitaine: La translation de S. Mattieu', *AB* 80 (1962), 82-110. I owe this reference to Guy Philippart.

⁴⁸ De Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie Salernitaine', 102. See also *LMA*, s.v. Adalbero II.

⁴⁹ *LMA*, s.v. *pallium*.

significant numbers in the period under consideration.⁵⁰ A specific example of Norman pilgrims stopping in south Italy on their way back to Normandy is given by Amatus of Monte Cassino. In his *History of the Normans*, probably finished in c. 1080 under abbot Desiderius, he records the arrival at Salerno of Norman pilgrims on their way back from Palestine in the year 1000.⁵¹

It is likely that Amatus' account refers to the same group of Normans mentioned by William of Apulia as having paid a visit to Monte Sant' Angelo in 1016.⁵² They are said to have been approached by Melo, a nobleman from Bari, who asked for their help in his rebellion against Byzantine domination. In 1018 the general of Byzantine Italy, Basil Boioannes, defeated Melo and his Langobard and Norman allies at Cannae, although this disastrous outcome did not stop adventurous Normans from seeking their fortune in south Italy, which eventually led to that other Norman Conquest: that of Sicily and southern Italy.⁵³

⁵⁰ Hugh, the father of Bernard, abbot of Beaulieu, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (PL 139, col. 398; Aimon's Life of Abbo of Fleury, d. 1004). Abbo travelled to Rome 'privilegia ecclesiae sibi commissae corroboraturus, imo renovaturus.' Adso, abbot of Moutier-en-Der died in 992 on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In 993, Sigeric, the archbishop of Canterbury, travelled to Jerusalem. Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, had travelled to Jerusalem three times, first in 1003 and last 1038/39 (Glaber, Bk 4.26). Richard of St Vanne organized a mass-pilgrimage to Palestine in 1026/27 (LMA, s.v. Richard 17; it was during his stay in Antioch that he encountered Symeon of Trier). On his way to Jerusalem he also stopped at Constantinople: 'exit peregrinus Christi a patria, comitatu eius adhaerentibus religiosus quam plurimis utriusque ordinis viris, inter quos vitae venerabilis abbas Ervinus .. Constantinopolim venit' where he was given by the emperor: 'duas portiunculas ligni salutaris .. etiam et alia sanctorum veneranda patrocina, quae venerandus pater conservans omnia, post suum reditum contulit huic ecclesiae conservanda' (ie. at St Vanne); see *Vita Richardi Abb. S. Vitoni Viridunensis*, ed. D.W. Wattenbach (1826), ch. 17. William of Angoulême had also travelled there. Duke Robert I of Normandy went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he died at Nicaea in 1035.

⁵¹ 'Avan mille [xvi. ans] puis que Christ .. prist char en la Virgine Marie, apparurent en lo monde xl vaillant pelerin. Venoient del saint Sepulcre de Jerusalem .. Et vindrent à Salerne, laquelle estoit assege de Sarassin ..'. *Storia de'Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (1935), p. 21, ch. 17. See also *The history of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino*, tr. P.N. Dunbar, rev. by G.A. Loud (2004).

⁵² Guillermi Apuliensis *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi a. 1009-1085*, ed. D.R. Wilmans, MGH SS 9 (1851), p. 239-98, esp. l. 1-27.

⁵³ Bloch, 'Monte Cassino', 172; Norwich, *The Normans in Sicily: the Normans in the south 1016-1030* (1992) p. 9 & 16-17; LMA, s.v. Boioannes, s.v. Meles v. Bari. On the Normans in Sicily and south Italy see G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (2000).

In a study of manuscripts containing Beneventan and Carolingian minuscule, C. Tristano compared a number of Beneventan manuscripts with manuscripts from Rouen.⁵⁴ She concluded that the Carolingian style of writing entered Italy also from the South, owing to Norman church and monastery foundations in Calabria: one manuscript in particular, Casin. Ms. 202, s. xi, contains Carolingian writing and decoration with distinct Norman characteristics.⁵⁵

So while it is clear that there were several channels by which the story of Katherine could have reached Normandy, it is a little more difficult to establish in which direction it travelled, and which account made which journey. An intriguing case is a version composed in tenth-century Italy, but extant in a number of relatively early manuscripts from both Italy and northern France.

5. Peter Subdeacon of Naples and the Passion of St Katherine

The only other account of Katherine's Passion besides the *Vulgate*, with an early and significant diffusion is the one identified by the tag BHL 1659-1661b. Peter, subdeacon of Naples, was active in that city (well-known for translations of saints' Lives from Greek into Latin⁵⁶) from c. 910 until c. 970. We know very little about him; practically the only sources of information are the prologues and epilogues he attached to his compositions and translations of saints' Lives. Recently, he has been credited with a Katherine-Passion (inc: *regnante igitur Maxentio cesare, Maximiani augusti filio*).⁵⁷ The BHL numbers edited by D'Angelo are: 1659, 1660, 1661, 1661b.⁵⁸ D'Angelo regards the

⁵⁴ C.T. Tristano, 'Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale', *ScrCiv*, 3 (1979), 88-150, esp. 108-09.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, 147.

⁵⁶ Translators active in Naples during the ninth/tenth centuries include Paul the Deacon, John of Naples, Guarimpotus of Naples, and Athanasius (*d.* 898). Anastasius Bibliothecarius was active in Rome from c. 860 on.

⁵⁷ D'Angelo, *Pietro Suddiacono*, p. li-lii and xciii-xciv.

⁵⁸ Although one would have liked to see D'Angelo present at least some sort of rationalization of the plethora of BHL numbers that identify this text in its various guises (with or without epilogue, what kind of epilogue, and crucially, what kind of ending. Under BHL 1659, the online BHL gives as the explicit: 'siquidem de sepulcro eius fons olei indeficienter manare videtur', an ending found only in two of the manuscripts D'Angelo used for his edition). He says nothing

attribution to Peter of Katherine's Passion as 'molto probabile'.⁵⁹ However, in comparison with Peter's other hagiographical works as edited by D'Angelo, Katherine's Passion is the only one that had a significant diffusion outside of Italy and particularly in France/Normandy.⁶⁰

In at least four manuscripts this Passion is followed by an epilogue which claims a Peter as its translator.⁶¹ In this epilogue the word *famine* occurs twice: *haec namque passio Greco famine scripta* (III.1) and *quam passionem .. de inepto famine elevans* (III.2). It occurs also once inside the account: *femineo famine* (II.144, D'Angelo). It can also be found twice in the passion of St George (BHL 3393a&b, 3394): once in the prologue – *inculto famine* – and once in the verse epilogue *famine pellendo*. This passion is a secure attribution to Peter.⁶² In the passion of St Margaret (this is a hypothetical attribution to Peter) it appears once in the prologue: *luculento famine*.⁶³ Already in 1900 F. Savio saw in this epilogue possible proof for attributing this version to Peter, both in the mention of Peter and in the double occurrence of *famine* (in comparison with other Peter-epilogues).⁶⁴

A complicating factor is that in another epilogue the name of the translator is given as Arechis. This epilogue is attached to the same Passion, and is attested in at least six manuscripts, two of which come from Normandy:

Rouen 1382 (U.109), s. xi, prov. Jumièges

Rouen 1410 (U.22), prov. Rouen.⁶⁵

about BHL 1661d, 1661e, 1661f, which all 'claim' as their author Athanasius and add a detail at the end not in Peter's Passion: the translation of Katherine's body to Sinai. However, since none of these epilogues have been edited it is difficult to determine what exactly is going on.

⁵⁹ E. D'Angelo, 'Petrus Neapolitanus Subd.', in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo*, ed. Paolo Chiesa & Lucia Castaldi (2004), p. 349.

⁶⁰ In contrast to Peter's other hagiographical texts, that of Katherine contains two citations from the *Dicta Catonis*. See D'Angelo, *Pietro Suddiacono*, p. cxxviii.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 146, III.2: 'quam passionem ego Petrus'.

⁶² Ibid., p. 65, I.1 and p. 94, III.13.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 243, I.4.

⁶⁴ F. Savio, 'Pietro Suddiacono Napoletano agiografo del secolo x', *AAT* 36 (1900/01), 676.

⁶⁵ The passion followed by this particular epilogue is identified as BHL 1660: *ego Arechis*. See Bronzini, 'La Leggenda', 341, who is citing Bruxelles Ms. 9810-14. Other manuscripts (possibly?) from the same environs are Montpellier FM 1, s. xii; Trier, StaB 1155, s. xiii.

Dolbeau suggested that Arechis might have been Peter's lay-name.⁶⁶ This is possible: the name Arechis originates from Lombardy, as historical sources show.⁶⁷ Yet, why would the author have issued two epilogues, almost identical, identifying him as Peter on the one hand and as Arechis on the other? And why do two manuscripts of Norman provenance contain an epilogue with the distinct Lombard name Arechis? The answer to these questions could be, perhaps, that the Arechis-epilogue was appended to the text in the first instance and that the substitution of Peter could have happened when Peter reworked his text (?).⁶⁸ But there are also northern French manuscripts which retain the Peter-epilogue so that the Arechis-Peter attribution is not as interesting as it may seem – in any case, until a complete list of all the manuscripts of Peter's version is available any further discussion of the matter would be futile.

D'Angelo's attribution of this Katherine-legend to Peter furnishes the text with a *terminus post quem* of c. 910 and a *terminus ante quem* of c. 970. As already mentioned, this text had a significant and early diffusion outside Italy, particularly in northern France.⁶⁹

Yet another epilogue gives the translator's name as Athanasius (BHL 1661f) – conserved in at least two manuscripts (*Quam passionem ego Athanasius .. latinis auribus tradere curavi*, cited after BHL 1661f: Rome, Arch. San Giovanni in Laterano A.80 [alias C], s. xi, fol. 277-282v; Vatican BAV Vat.lat. 2291, s. xii¹, fol. 95-99v). This substitution of the translator's name with that of Athanasius probably occurred due to confusion with the name of the author of the Greek text (Athanasius) in the previous sentence.

⁶⁶ 'D'après la topique, il s'agit d'une œuvre de Pierre sous-diacre (dont Arechis serait le nom laïc?)', F. Dolbeau, 'Le rôle des interprètes dans les traductions hagiographiques d'Italie du sud', in *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Age*, ed. G. Contamine (1989), p. 152.

⁶⁷ Well-known bearers of the name were Arechis I (591-641), Duke of Benevento, and Arechis II, (758-774) Duke and (774-87) Prince of Benevento. A judge named Arechis was present at the election of the abbot Aligernus (948-85) of Monte Cassino (*Chron. Cas.* 1.60.3). Arechis, the son of Iannipertus, had possessions at Teano c. 968 (*Chron. Cas.* 2.6.12). The latest attestation for the name seems to be the son of Iannipertus.

⁶⁸ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 303: 'hanc passionem graeco primum eloquio scriptam a praefato Athanasio .. ego Arechis .. de inepto famine elevans'. In the 'Peter-epilogue' *graeco* is replaced by another *famine*.

⁶⁹ In the discussion that follows, I rely on the lists of manuscripts in D'Angelo, *Pietro Suddiacono*, and the online BHL.

A close examination of these early Peter-manuscripts results in the following table:

	Earliest witnesses for Peter's account (eleventh century)	North-French manuscripts preserving Peter's Passion	North-French manuscripts preserving the <i>T&M</i>
Orléans 334, s. xi, prov. Fleury ⁷⁰	X	X	X
Roma Valicelliana vol. ix, s. xi, Beneventan script	X		
Rouen 1382, s. xi, prov. Jumièges (Arechis epilogue)	X	X	
Rouen 1410, s. xiii, prov. Rouen (Arechis epilogue)		X	X
St Omer 27, 1150-60, prov. St Bertin		X	X
Vatican BAV San Pietro in Vaticano A5, s. xi	X		

Of the four earliest witnesses for Peter's account two were copied in Normandy. Of the total of three manuscripts preserving Peter's account from Normandy, two ascribe the Passion to Arechis while the two Italian witnesses (presumably) preserve the epilogue ascribed to Peter. Three of these Norman manuscripts not only preserve the Arechis/Peter version of Katherine's passion, but also the *T&M*.

A logical link between the two texts seems to be provided by Katherine's oil-oozing relics kept at Rouen. At first sight, the end of the Arechis/Peter account does not contain any detail of these relics:

Hoc cum audisset, beata Caterina leta effecta de celesti promissione surrexit ab oratione. Satellites autem accipientes illam secundum cesaris iussionem decollaverunt eam vicesima quinta die mensis Novembris.⁷¹

However, two of the manuscripts used by D'Angelo continue after *Novembris* in the following fashion:

⁷⁰ Not mentioned by D'Angelo in *Pietro Suddiacono*.

⁷¹ Ibid, II.195-96.

Statimque de corpore eius lac pro sanguine uberam (sic) defluxit in testimonio virginis [virginei R] pudoris ad laudem dei omnipotentis angeli quoque gloriosae martyris corpus accipientes exanimum in montem Synai detulerunt qui mons a loco occisionis ut fertur distat itinere viginti et eo amplius dierum [qui-dierum: om. R] ubi per eam innumera divina virtus operari non desinit miracula siquidem de sepulcro eius fons olei indificienter manare videtur quo peruncta debilium corpora optatae sospitatis reportant gaudia NR.⁷²

These two manuscripts are:

N = Napoli, BN XIII.G.24, s. xii-xiii

R = Rouen, 1382, s. xi-xii, prov. Jumièges

Both of them append to the Passion the Arechis-epilogue: it would be extremely interesting to see whether the Arechis-epilogue version preserves this particular ending, against the apparently more common one printed by D'Angelo. It could be an indication for the separate tradition of NRS, as hypothesized by D'Angelo and as apparent from his apparatus (especially in the case of NR).⁷³

Now compare the above with the ending of the *Vulgate*:⁷⁴

Mox ille, insurgens, decollavit eam. Quo ex facto due res digne memoria apparuerunt: una, quia lac pro sanguine, in testimonium virginalis innocentiae de corpore eius effusum, terram uberius irroravit; altera, quia mox angeli accesserunt et assumptum corpus, per altum aera subvehentes, in monte Synai deposuerunt – qui mons a loco occisionis distat itinere viginti et eo amplius dierum; quo in loco innumera, ad laudem Domini, fiunt miracula. Inter que et hoc unum insigne constat miraculum, quod de sepulcro ipsius rivus olei indeficienter manare videtur; nam et de minutis ossibus quae de sarcophago cum oleo effluunt, ubicumque asportantur, salutaris olei liquor stillare non desinit, ex quo peruncta, debilium corpora celeris medicinae opem reportant. (Dob. 1134-46)

⁷² Ibid., apparatus to II.196.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 119. Id., 'Petrus Neapolitanus Subd.', p. 357, suggests an 'archetipo dinamico, date le caratteristiche "scivolose" delle varianti proposte dal gruppo NRS'.

⁷⁴ Aside from this, there are no major parallels between Peter's version and the *Vulgate* on a textual level. The citations of the same Bible-passages are incidental: they are much the same in the Greek and Latin versions, and do not therefore allow the precision of a specific relationship. The ending of the *Vulgate* is constant: all the manuscripts I have seen (at least those which contain the *Vulgate* and its epitome 1663a) preserve it.

There is a clear link between the ending of the *Vulgate* and the ending preserved in (at least) two manuscripts of the Arechis/Peter tradition.

Further, compare the ending of the *Vulgate* with a few phrases towards the beginning of the *T&M*:

Nam ad eius tumba<m> rivus olei indeficienter manare videtur, ex quo diversa corporum invalidudines divina virtute curantur. De ipsis quoque minutis ossibus cum oleo de sarcophago effluentibus, de quibus etiam et salutaris olei liquor stillare non desinit.⁷⁵

A little further on:

In quo illud constat mirabile, quod non solum Christiani, sed etiam pagani beatae martyris suffragia expetentes, salutari eius oleo peruncti opem sibi medicinae reportant.⁷⁶

There is a clear link between the *Vulgate* and the *T&M*, although there is also an overlap between these two and the Arechis-epilogue ending. However, what is not clear is how these connections came about. An easy and the most logical explanation would be that

- a) the *T&M* took inspiration from the end of the *Vulgate*,
and that
- b) the two Arechis-epilogue manuscripts were somehow contaminated by the ending of the *Vulgate*, in all likelihood in Normandy or by a copy transmitted back to Italy.

The major problem with this is that the *T&M* are only preserved with the Arechis/Peter account, but never with the *Vulgate*. In the light of this another solution would perhaps be:

- a) the Arechis/Peter account of Katherine's Passion reaches Normandy;
- b) Katherine's relics are acquired at Rouen and the account of their arrival is joined to the Peter's version – the overlap in phrases makes it entirely possible that the *T&M* took inspiration from Peter's version rather than from the *Vulgate*;

⁷⁵ ch. 1.

⁷⁶ ch. 2 (p. 427).

- c) the Arechis/Peter account is perceived as insufficient. The *Vulgate* is composed and its ending modelled on its predecessor.

This in turn gives rise to the question why there are no details in the *Vulgate* as to the precise location of these miraculous oil-oozing relics. The answer must be that at the time of its composition Katherine's relics had not yet surfaced at Rouen or the *Vulgate*-author was not aware of their existence. From this, and on the basis of 1054 to 1090 as the time-frame for the composition of the *T&M*, results a first *terminus ante quem* 'ex silentio' for the composition of the *Vulgate*. The overlaps between the two versions of Katherine's Passion and the *T&M* could be no more than mere coincidence, and perhaps an indication of the relative recency both of her cult and the two Passions. Neither of the two had yet gained a strong foothold in Normandy so that the *T&M* could be joined to any of the two.

6. The Latin texts – their relationships with each other and with the Greek texts

While the relationships of the Greek texts of Katherine's Passion have been more or less resolved the same cannot be said for those written in the Latin West – this is largely due to the numerous elaborations and the huge variation within each strand (as classified by the Bollandists in their BHL, which is inevitably liable to turn out too complicated once the main body of the text, rather than the vagaries of *incipit* and *explicit*, can be used to define each strand). Another impediment is the unavailability of reliable modern editions – something which seriously hampered Bronzini's findings and a situation that has not changed much since he undertook his study.

The following pages do are not intended as a detailed or comprehensive study of the relationship between the Greek and Latin texts, but are to be seen more as an afterthought to Bronzini and an indication of how much work still needs to be done. More than 40 decades have passed since he undertook his comparative study, and many of his findings are still being cited today. Some of them are plainly mistaken, such as his undue concentration on the *Menologium Basilianum* (MB), including his assignation of it

to a separate branch in the tradition of the Greek texts.⁷⁷ While he can be credited for bringing together all the extant texts of Katherine's Passion, many of his conclusions on their relationships with each other are not finely-tuned enough.

I have already quoted the following passage in the introduction to this study:

In the early 960s Simon Metaphrastes wrote a Greek life of the saint, generally held to be the earliest extant version; it is from this life that most later Latin versions trace their descent. Several other lives of St Katherine were written in Greek in the later tenth century, the most famous of which is that contained in the *Menologium Basilianum* written for the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025).⁷⁸

None of these statements is true. Symeon's *Menologium* was 'still being written in the 980s'.⁷⁹ His version of Katherine's Passion cannot be the earliest because we know that Symeon, in most cases, rewrote the Lives of the saints he included in his *Menologium*. Finally, the only Latin version derived from his Katherine-text is the translation by Surius. As regards the other Greek accounts of Katherine's Passion (namely A and B), they can be dated to before 850 at least, the date when B was used by the hymnographer ὁ μόνος ταπείνους. The entry on Katherine in the MB is in fact not a full account of her life, but instead just the beginning, or rather, as much as the scribe was able to fit into the space allocated for the text. In light of these misconceptions it seems to me a useful exercise to map the Latin Lives of Katherine with Bronzini's study as a point of reference.

Of the four Greek versions, only B and A seem to have had a significant influence on the development of the tradition in the Latin West, particularly in terms of translations and adaptations. This is corroborated to some extent by the diffusion of the manuscripts: B and A are preserved in a number of south-Italian manuscripts, whereas C and D had a more restricted and Byzantine diffusion. The difficulty here is that the determination of provenance for Greek manuscripts is still lagging behind that of Latin

⁷⁷ Walsh, 'The early development', in turn focused her attention on Symeon's *Menologium* as the earliest datable text (p. 20, 22, & 79).

⁷⁸ *St Katherine of Alexandria*, ed. Jenkins & Lewis, p. 7.

⁷⁹ See Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (1990), p. 2. Also Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2, p. 308-09.

manuscripts and that a unified check-list of the Greek 'Katherine'-manuscripts is still outstanding. The existence of a large number of manuscripts in Italian libraries does not, of course, imply that they originated in southern Italy.

A note on methodology

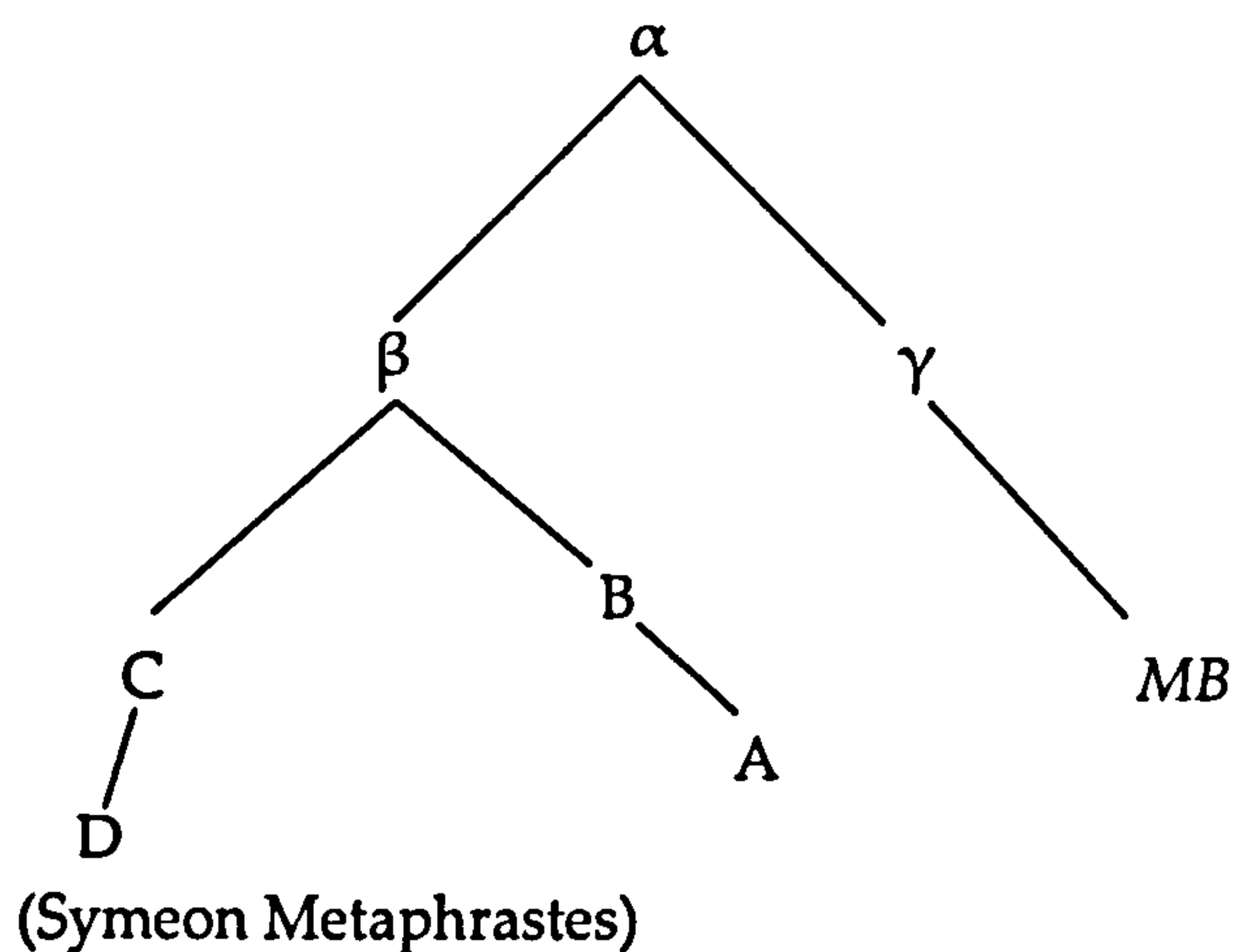
In the absence of proper critical editions, any statements about the relationships between the Greek and Latin, as well as between the different Latin texts must necessarily remain provisional. The relationships suggested by Bronzini need to be re-examined by applying a set of carefully defined criteria for establishing derivation.

A literal translation, in terms of word order or use of participles for example, can help to determine whether a Latin text derives from a Greek text. A high number of literally translated sentences, combined with an accumulation of specific details found nowhere else, can also help to clinch a relationship. Not so useful is the presence or absence of particular episodes, speeches, and the like; this can often be coincidental. The Latin version that is closest to the Greek is obviously one that is a literal translation throughout. When the idiosyncrasies of the translated text have been smoothed over to make it more pleasing to the reader of Latin, we have a text that is removed from the Greek at one stage. A text which bears no resemblance to a translation as regards vocabulary/sentence structure but does retain the storyline with its details, is removed from the Greek by at least two stages.

In the case of the Latin versions of Katherine, it is not always clear what is going on exactly because the texts do not just progress in a straight line from (1) the Greek into a Latin translation, (2) a Latin reworking of an earlier translation, and (3) further adaptation of a Latin reworking, but they also borrow from each other. While Bronzini can be credited with attempting a classification of these texts, he did not succeed in satisfying philological standards.⁸⁰ His principal error was to assume two branches from which the Greek texts descend, with γ representing the tradition that has no

⁸⁰ See the review by F. Halkin, *AB* 79 (1961), 179-80.

knowledge of Katherine's translation to Sinai, and β standing in for all those texts in which angels waft her off to her final resting place. See simplified version below:⁸¹



On the basis of the variation of the dates at which the different characters die, Bronzini concluded that they are later additions to the nucleus of the story. This nucleus comprises, according to him, the initial sacrifice to the gods, the debate with the rhetors, their death and that of Katherine. This can be found in the *MB*; everything else is typical hagiographic elaboration. It is difficult to see the nucleus of later elaborations in the notice on Katherine contained in the *MB*. The process of compiling a collection such as the *MB* entailed synthesizing an already existent saint's Life (rather than commissioning a particular version to be included): 'just as each miniature, regardless of content, has been composed to fit a prescribed page, so each Synaxarion text has been modified so as to take up exactly 16 lines on the page.'⁸²

Katherine at Monte Cassino

A number of Beneventan calendars and martyrologies written at Monte Cassino towards the end of the eleventh century include Katherine's name in the original script:

Vatican BAV Urb. lat. 585, 1099-1105

Vatican BAV Borgia lat. 211, 1094-1005

⁸¹ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 288. H.R. Seeliger's article on Katherine in *LTK* still follows this view of two branches, s.v. Katharina v. A.

⁸² *ODB*, s.v. Menologion of Basil II.

Monte Cassino Archivio della Badia 444, 1075-1090

Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 4958, c. 1087 (*Martyrology* of Usuard with adaptations)

Napoli Bib. Naz. VIII C.4, s. xi^{ex} (*Martyrology* of Usuard with adaptations).⁸³

This is clear evidence for the fact that the saint's cult was being celebrated at this important monastery before the turn of the eleventh century. In the light of this, are there other indications for a cult of Katherine at Monte Cassino?

In September 1075 a number of abbot Desiderius' new buildings on Monte Cassino were consecrated, including the tower chapel of the Archangel Michael.⁸⁴ The Chronicle of Monte Cassino records that some relics were sealed in the altar of that chapel, among them those of Katherine.⁸⁵ Of the nine saints named as having their relics thus preserved (with the exception of John and Paul), only Mercurius and Katherine are foreigners to either Monte Cassino or southern Italy.

Just a little ahead of the above entry, the chronicler describes Desiderius' basilica of St Martin and how he had it decorated:

absidam autem musivo decenter vestivit. In qua etiam aureis litteris hos versus describi precepit: cultibus extiterat quondam locus iste dicatus ...⁸⁶

Although the author's name is not mentioned, it is generally accepted that the poem here referred to was written by Alfano, archbishop of Salerno.⁸⁷ Alfano and Desiderius had met in 1055, when Alfano seems to have joined the monks at Monte

⁸³ All these in Virginia Brown, 'A new Beneventan Calendar', 394-95 & 396-97.

⁸⁴ See H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (1983), p. 12-17. Drawings of the reconstructed late eleventh-century monastic complex of Monte Cassino can be found in Henry M. Willard & Kenneth J. Conant, 'A Project for the Graphic Reconstruction of the Romanesque Abbey at MC', *Speculum* 10 (1935), 144-46, plate 1; and F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino* (1998), p. 14.

⁸⁵ 'Non multo post hec temporis evoluta edeculas quoque illas, quas instar turrium in atrii diximus angulis constitutas, alteram ab eodem Iohanne, alteram a Leone fecit Aquinensi episcopo magna cum letitia dedicari quarto idus Septembris. Sane in altari beati archangeli Michahelis reliquias condidit sanctorum Nicandri et Marciani, Iohannis et Pauli, Viti, Mercurii et Caterine et vocabula sanctorum Apollinaris episcopi, Proti et Iacinthi.' *Chron. Cas.* 3.34 (p. 410).

⁸⁶ *Chron. Cas.* 3.34 (p. 409).

⁸⁷ A. Lentini, *I carmi di Alfano, arcivescovo di Salerno* (1974), p. 37-38. Alfano was present at the basilica's consecration by Pope Alexander II, see *Chron. Cas.* 3.29 (p. 398).

Cassino, and the two men remained friends until Alfano's death in 1085.⁸⁸ But the archbishop of Salerno, whose writings include a Passion of St Christina as well as a number of medical writings, has also been identified as the author of three hymns in honour of St Katherine.⁸⁹ They were published in the sixteenth century by Martinengo as part of a larger group of poems on the basis of a manuscript from Monte Cassino, now lost.⁹⁰ A number of these poems overlap with a list of Alfano's poems given by Peter the Deacon in his *De viris illustribus Casinensibus*.⁹¹ None of the poems published by Martinengo are transmitted in Monte Cassino 280.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Chron. Cas.* 3.7 (p. 368) describes their first encounter thus: 'Interea Desiderius ob nimiam abstinentiam multasque vigilas in languorem non modicum decidens, medendi gratia Salernum perrexit. Ibi itaque illo aliquandiu remorante, Alfano qui postmodum eiusdem civitatis archiepiscopatum adeptus est, prudentissimus et nobilissimus clericus, maxima illi est familiaritate coniunctus cuius animam frequentibus monitis ad mundi contemptum exhortans, sic tandem ab illo exegit ut monachus fieret, si prius, ut iamdudum mente conceperat, Ierosolymam ire permissus fuisset'.

⁸⁹ The Passion of St Christina (BHL 1759) includes a torturing wheel. The translation of Nemesios' Πέρι φύσεως into Latin was undertaken by Alfano. A full list of his works can be found in *CALMA*, p. 179-80. For biographical details see *LMA*, s.v. 2 Alfano,; and P. Caiazza, 'Aspetti e problemi dell'opera di Alfano I, arcivescovo salernitano', *Benedictina* 22 (1975), 347-58. His most interesting activities from the point of view of this study include Alfano's pilgrimage to Jerusalem via Constantinople with Gisulf II, and the mediating role he played between the Normans and the Pope. With the support of Robert Guiscard he built a cathedral at Salerno in the years 1080-85.

⁹⁰ 'exscripti sunt autem ex pervetusto codice, Longobardicis litteris exarato monasterii Casinensis, in quo ipse disertissimus auctor eleganti stylo cum alia quaedam egregia, tum vero praecipue sacratissimae Virginis Christinae vitam simul et martyrii insignis palmam praeclarumque triumphum prosa oratione cum supradictis hymnis edidit'; T.P. Martinengii, *Pia quaedam poemata* (1590), p. 168, cited following Lentini, *I carmi*, p. 9.

⁹¹ According to Monte Cassino 361, s. xii. This manuscript is written 'mainly in Peter's hand', see Newton, *Scriptorium*, p. 285, n. 266. Other than Peter's works it also contains Vegetius – *Epitoma rei militaris*, Frontinus – *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, Varro – *De lingua Latina*, Cicero – *Actio secunda in Verrem*.

⁹² '.. the manuscript .. MC 280, gives the impression of belonging to the latest part of Desiderius' rule or to the Oderisian period. This impression is strongly confirmed by Professor Hoffmann's discovery that three of the hands in MC 280 also served as scribes in the Munich manuscripts [Clm 4623] of the Chronicle, a manuscript written later in the rule of Oderisius, and specifically within the years 1099-1103. In fact, in both manuscripts the master scribe who begins the copying is the *bibliothecarius* of the abbey and author of the oldest part of the Chronicle, Leo Marsicanus himself'. Newton, *Scriptorium*, p. 78.

It is not possible to determine which account of Katherine's life Alfano had worked from: the hymns do not have the sort of detail which would allow assignation to a particular tradition. However, the endings could contain a clue.⁹³

42.

Sanguineas vulnus dum mittere debuit undas,
lac dedit, egregio corpusque dedere sepulcro
turba supernorum, guttas funditque salubres.

43.

Vulnus illatum laticem dat album.
Coelicae turbae sepelivit ossa
puritas; manant oleum salubre.

44.

Et lac consequitur vulnera candidum.
Montanoque locant vertice funera
dextrae coelicolum, quis refluit liquor
reddens debilibus membra valentia.

The double miracle of the milk and the angels carrying Katherine's body to Sinai is already present in the Greek accounts (B & A). In Mombritius (see below) and the *Vulgate* this is extended by the miracle of the oil and its healing capacities.⁹⁴ This seems to support Jones, who wrote that 'scholars now commonly assume, without substantial evidence, that the oil motif went from Sinai to Rouen rather than from Rouen to Sinai'.⁹⁵ While the textual evidence indicates that the oil motif entered the Passion in the Latin West, it is not inconceivable that oil had started to ooze 'independently' from Katherine's skull which the monastery at Sinai had in its keeping.

But Alfano did not have to travel either to Rouen or to Sinai in order to see Katherine's relics – as we have seen above, Monte Cassino had obtained a set for itself by 1075. Their oil-oozing capability was perhaps hampered by their place of keeping,

⁹³ Lentini, *I carmi*, p. 196-200.

⁹⁴ The oil does not feature in Peter's version or that of Monte Cassino [BHL 1662]. Whether or not it is part of BHL 1658 is not known, as an edition of the text has still to appear.

⁹⁵ C. Jones, 'The Norman Cult of Sts. Catherine and Nicholas, saec. xi', *Latomus* 145 (1976), 219.

but this sort of detail becomes almost irrelevant. The monks would have been sure to collect some oil before immuring the relics and even if they had not their mere presence was enough to suggest a healing capacity through oil. In the light of the manuscript evidence it would be difficult to argue for Alfano's having taken inspiration directly from the *Vulgate*.

The version of Katherine's Passion associated with Monte Cassino has an ending not found anywhere else and was not likely to have been the basis of Alfano's hymn 44 (at least) where *montano vertice* must refer to Mt. Sinai:

Expleta oratione cervicem tetendit, et iuxta quod tyrannus iusserat decollationis sententiam laetanter excepit, sicque ad sponsi sui regis aeterni thalamum perenniter cum ea (*sic*) regnatura conscendit. Consummavit autem cursum certaminis sui beata Ecaterina septimo kalendas Decembris, et reconditum est corpus eius a fidelibus iuxta civitatem Alexandriam in loco optimo et condigno meritis eius. Ad laudem et gloriam dei omnipotentis qui trinus et unus vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.⁹⁶

The tag for this version is BHL 1662, and it is preserved in two Cassinese manuscripts.⁹⁷ They are numbers 139 and 149 of the Archivio della Badia.⁹⁸ Ms. 139 was dated by Lowe to the period between 1070 and 1100 and Ms. 149 to the second half of the eleventh century.⁹⁹ In his study of the Cassinese scriptorium, Newton was able to be a little more precise – in his opinion 139 was either written during the last years of Desiderius' abbacy or during the time of Oderisius, while 149 was definitely produced under the

⁹⁶ *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Casinensi asservantur Monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 3 (1877), Florilegium, p. 187. [henceforth *Florilegium*]. The edition of this version, and BHL 1658 (see below), contains a great number of impossible readings. For ease of reference, photocopies of the Katherine-texts printed in the *Florilegium* are available in Appendix II.

⁹⁷ Also in Bruxelles, BR 8955-8556, s. xvii [Collectanea Bollandiana].

⁹⁸ Katherine is at fol. 172-175 in Ms. 139, and fol. 142v-145v in Ms. 149. In both cases the saint immediately following is Peter of Alexandria (BHL 6693) – an edition of this text is being prepared by my colleague Eleonora Litta-Modignani. For the contents see *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, vol. 1 (1915), p. 222-24 & 238-39 (though there is no mention of Katherine in the description of Ms. 149).

⁹⁹ Ms. 139 = s. xi ex., Ms. 149 = s. xi², see E.A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: a history of the South Italian minuscule*, 2nd edn Virginia Brown, II: *Hand List of Beneventan Manuscripts* (1980), p. 71 & 72.

latter.¹⁰⁰ The resulting *terminus ante quem* for the composition of this Passion is 1070 – 1100.

The diffusion of this text was restricted to Monte Cassino. This suggests that it may have been written for in-house use only, or perhaps the legendaries that it was part of were considered too precious to be lent to other houses for copying. Certainly the presence of Katherine's relics as well as of Alfano's hymns in honour of the saint point towards a cult, if not an increased interest in her at Monte Cassino. It is of course impossible to determine who took the trouble to write this account of Katherine's Passion. Given that her relics were enshrined at that monastery, however, could mean that she was known to such hagiographers as Alberic the Deacon and Guaiferius, who were active at Monte Cassino during Desiderius abbacy.¹⁰¹

The presence of Katherine's name in two tenth-century calendars from Monte Cassino and Rossano is further evidence for her emerging cult in the area. In this context it is perhaps not unwise to remember that Nilus of Rossano had accepted the offer of Monte Cassino's abbot Aligernus to live at the monastery of Vasselucis following the attacks of the Sarazens in Calabria (c. 979-994).¹⁰² In view of the fact that 'the Greek communities of Calabria had strong contact with the Christian East, and monks from that region visited Constantinople, Jerusalem, Sinai and the Holy Mountain', Nilus and his predecessors were a very likely channel of transmission for Katherine's Greek Passion to Monte Cassino, Naples, and beyond.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ 'MC 139 dates from the 1080s, and perhaps falls in the era of Oderisius, and MC 149 is definitely Oderisian. This latter volume was lavishly decorated with gold .., and the vivid colors and sometimes bizarre designs could serve as a textbook for study of Oderisian experimentation'. Newton, *Scriptorium*, p. 72; also p. 123, 165, 224 (Ms. 149 has the medieval shelf-mark 'O', and medieval page numbering), and 257. Plate 44 shows the beginning of the Passion of St Katherine, the description is on p. 342: 'the scribe wrote the saint's name *ecaterina*; the first *e* was erased.'

¹⁰¹ See *MLA*, s.vv. Alberich v. Montecassino, Guaiferius v. Montecassino.

¹⁰² See Patricia M. McNulty & Bernard Hamilton, 'Orientale Lumen et Magistra Latinitas: Greek influences on Western monasticism (900-1000), in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963: études et mélanges* (1963-64), p. 181-216. On Nilus s.v. Neilos 1 in *LMA*.

¹⁰³ McNulty & Hamilton, 'Orientale Lumen', p. 182. Also p. 187: 'during the eighth and early ninth centuries there had been a number of important Greek monasteries in Rome'.

As regards the tradition of the Monte Cassino version, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion. It certainly contains details that are present in no other known version, Greek or Latin.¹⁰⁴ The possibility that they are derived from a Greek tradition which is now lost is at least an option. However, the presence or absence of particular episodes and the like is not a reliable tool for determining relationships. In this regard, Bronzini was mistaken in his assumption that the MB was the basis for this version.¹⁰⁵

He associated the two texts on the basis of the emperor's name, given in both as Maximinus. It is highly problematic to use this as evidence for derivation from a particular Greek text. Both Maxentius and Maximinus were emperors in charge of African provinces at the beginning of the fourth century: Maxentius in the West and Maximinus in the East (including Alexandria). All it needed was a scribe/author who had a sense of history, and to substitute the 'right' emperor Maximinus for the 'wrong' Maxentius¹⁰⁶ – which is exactly what the author/scribe of the Monte Cassino version had done. Unlike any of the other Greek and Latin accounts with the exception of the *Vulgate*, the Cassinese version begins with a short debriefing on the different emperors in charge at the time of Katherine's supposed death:

Constantinus sacratissimus et christianissimus imperator cum post mortem Constantii patris in Galliis et Britannia imperare caepisset, et Maximianus cognomento Galerius cum filio Maximino Caesare in orientis partibus pariter imperaret, Romae Maxentius Maximiani Herculii filius tyrannide assumpta regnabat. Sed postquam divinae virtutis auxilio a Constantino in congressione pontis Molvii idem tyrannus summensus est, et Romanae urbis imperium prefatus Augustus obtinuit, Maximianus Galerii filius Constantini gloriae invidens, apud Egyptum maximeque apud Alexandriam adversus Christianos persecutione commota, omnium scelerum et flagitiorum auctor imperii sibi nomen arripiens, in Christianos saevire modis omnibus caepit.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ For example, the name of the emperor is given as Maximinus rather than Maxentius and Katherine's place of burial as being outside Alexandria. The Cassinese version remains unedited, although the Katherine-text of Ms. 149 was included in the *Florilegium*, p. 184-87. Both Bronzini and Walsh appear to ignore the existence of 149, but they cite 139.

¹⁰⁵ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 319-20: 'ora non si tratta .. di omissioni pure e semplici .. ma di vere e proprie varianti che provengono certo dalla fonte di cui egli si servi. .. [C]i orienta verso la stessa più genuina ramificazione della leggenda .. a cui appartiene MB.'

¹⁰⁶ Here an up-to date edition of the Greek texts could help to determine whether there are any manuscripts that have Maximinus instead of Maxentius.

¹⁰⁷ *Florilegium*, p. 184.

A possible source for this sort of historical detail could have been Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*. Paul, a monk at Monte Cassino in the second half of the eighth century, had written this Roman History (on the basis of Eutropius' *Breviarium*) for Adelperga, the wife of Arechis II of Benevento.¹⁰⁸ A direct link between the two texts is not apparent, but the availability of Paul's work would have provided the necessary historical background.

Katherine's name is always given as 'Ecaterina', close to the Greek form Αικατερινα¹⁰⁹, an indication perhaps that this version was at one remove from a Greek text. As far as I can tell, it had no direct literal influence on the *Vulgate*.

Mombritius

Another account of Katherine's Passion, often referred to as that of Mombritius, is BHL 1657. The reason for this identification is that this text was printed in 1478 by Boninus Mombritius as part of his *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, a collection of 334 legends of martyrs and confessors.¹¹⁰ This is more widely accessible through an annotated reprint from the early twentieth century.¹¹¹ The collection remains an important tool for hagiographers, both because of its useful index and because it is in some cases the sole witness for legends otherwise lost.

This Katherine-Passion begins with *temporibus Maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno quinto imperii* and thus appears to be, at least on the basis of the *incipit*, in some sort

¹⁰⁸ LMA, s.v. Paulus Diaconus.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. note 100 above.

¹¹⁰ For an overview of Mombritius' activities see Serena Spanò Martinelli, 'Bonino Mombrizio e gli albori della scienza agiografica', in *Erudizione e devozione: le raccolte di vite di santi in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. Gennaro Luongo (2000), p. 3-18. He edited Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Theocritus, Papias, Lactantius, and translated Hesiod's *Theogony* into Latin verse (amongst others). For the printing-date of the *Sanctuarium* see Tino Foffano, 'Per la data dell'edizione del *Sanctuarium* di Bonino Mombrizio', *IMU*, 22 (1979), 511. Mombritius also composed a poem in Italian in honour of St Katherine, see A. Bayot & P. Groult, *La légende de Sainte Catherine: poème Italien du xv^e siècle publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (1943).

¹¹¹ Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, edd. Monachi Solesmenses, 2 vols (1910); Katherine is at vol. 1, p. 283-87. Reviewed by A. Poncelet, *AB* 29 (1910), 442-44. For easy of reference, a photocopy of the text has been provided in Appendix II.

of relationship with BHL 1658. I have only made a cursory comparison of the two versions, but I believe that the two are indeed related in some way. The number of parallel passages is too great to be coincidental. As a first guess, and this is what it must remain, I would suggest that 1658 precedes 1657 – for in 1658, or at least in the Monte Cassino (117) manuscript, Katherine’s name is always spelled *Ecaterina*, pointing to a close relationship with a Greek text. 1658 also reproduces in its own way the gargantuan speeches found in B – these have been touched down in 1657, making them short and succinct.

To what extent these two versions are related to the Greek texts is difficult to determine, partly because they share a great number of parallels which can only have occurred through the use of a common translation. Bronzini was right to point out that 1658 reproduces the convoluted speeches of B, which is an indication that it derives from that account. But his conclusion that 1657 derives from A is wrong.

I have looked at some of the parallels between A and 1657 that have been cited by Bronzini, and contrary to what he concludes from this comparison (namely that 1657 is closest to A) I can show that this is simply not true.¹¹²

B	A	1657
τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων ἐκπεμφθέντων, παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πλῆθος πολὺ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ ὑποτεταγμένῃ αὐτῷ βασιλείᾳ. ¹¹³	τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπεμφθέντων κατὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πλῆθος πολὺ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ ὑποτεταγμένῃ αὐτῷ βασιλείᾳ. ¹¹⁴	missis vero litteris convenit ad eum multitudo copiosa, quae sub imperio eius erat constituta. ¹¹⁵

Here 1657 clearly follows B: the first part of the sentence up to *copiosa* replicates exactly the word order of the Greek. It does not translate τοῦ βασιλέως or κατὰ πάσης τῆς

¹¹² Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 306-07.
¹¹³ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 25, ch. 2.
¹¹⁴ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 5, ch. 2.
¹¹⁵ Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* 2, p. 284.1.

οἰκουμένης found only in A. Another comparison, this time between B, A, 1657 and 1658:

A	B	1657	1658
Ἦν γὰρ τῷ κάλλει ἀμώμητος, πᾶσαν φύσιν γυναικῶν <u>ὑπερβάλλουσα</u> . Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑπερμεγέθης τῇ ἡλικίᾳ σφόδρα, καὶ ὥσπερ κυπάρισσος εὐθαλής, τὴν ἐωθινὴν δρόσον βαστάζουσα, ἀνατεταμένη ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ὑπερμεγέθης ὑπὲρ πᾶν δένδρον τῆς γῆς τῷ κατακόμῳ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἴσταται εὐπρεπῶς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ μακαρία, προαγούσης αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐφαίνετο τοῖς ὀρῶσιν. ¹¹⁶	Ἦν γὰρ τῷ κάλλει ἀμώμητος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φύσιν γυναικῶν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑπερμεγέθης τῇ <u>ὄψει</u> τῆς ἡλικίας σφόδρα. Ὡς κυπάρισσος παμποίκιλος τὴν ἐωθινὴν δρόσον βαστάζουσα, ἀνατεταμένη ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, ὑπερμεγέθης παρὰ πᾶν δένδρον τῆς γῆς τῷ κατακόμῳ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἴσταται εὐπρεπῶς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ μακαρία, προαγούσης αὐτὴν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου. ¹¹⁷	erat autem Catherinae irreprehensibilis forma <u>praeminensque</u> ultra omnes mulieres cum florida <u>spetie</u> sicut <u>excelsa cipressus</u> portans matutinum rorem et sicut palma quae circumadsistit decorata super omnes arbores. ¹¹⁸	erat enim irreprehensibilis forma <u>preminens</u> ultra omnes mulieres cum florida <u>specie</u> , sicut <u>excelsa</u> <u>cypressus</u> , portans matutinum rorem, que circa comam existit decorata super omnes arbores. Sic et beata cum precedente gratia domini radiabat. ¹¹⁹

Praeminens = agrees with ὑπερβάλλουσα = A.

Specie = renders τῇ ὄψει (τῆς ἡλικίας) = B.

Excelsa cypressus = neither κυπάρισσος εὐθαλής (A) nor κυπάρισσος παμποίκιλος (B).

In this section, the relationships are not as straightforward as suggested by Bronzini.¹²⁰

Both 1657 and 1658 agree with A and B once, but also retain (at least) one feature which is in neither of the two Greek texts. One more comparison, between 1657 and 1658:

¹¹⁶ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 7, ch. 5.

¹¹⁷ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 26, ch. 5.

¹¹⁸ Mombricitus, *Santuarium* 2, p. 284.23.

¹¹⁹ *Florilegium*, p. 74, col. 2.

¹²⁰ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 308.

1657	1658
Temporibus Maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno quinto imperii eius erat multa insania idolorum. Et sedens imperator pro tribunali in civitate Alexandrinorum posuit preceptum ubique sacrificare diis, et huiusmodi scripsit epistolam. Omnes convenite ad nostram praesentiam, ut cognoscatis praeceptum quod positum est a nobis. Si quis vero obedierit huic nostrae iussioni, habebit gratiam nostram, qui vero non obedierit, statim eum faciam gladio et diversis penis corruere. ¹²¹	Temporibus Maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno tricesimo quinto regni eius erat multa insania idolorum colentes (sic). Et sedens pro tribunali in civitate Alexandrinorum, posuit preceptum ubique sacrificare diis, et misit epistolam habentem hanc figuram. Omnes convenite (ut) agnoscatis preceptum quod positum est a nobis. Si quis non obedierit huic nostre iussioni statim faciam eum corruere gladio et diversis suppliciis. ¹²²

Misit epistolam habentem hanc figuram (in 1658) is a translation from Greek, while *huiusmodi scripsit epistolam* is a fully ‘latinized’ version of the same phrase. By the same token, *statim faciam eum corruere gladio et diversis suppliciis* retains the word order of the Greek original; in 1657 the verb has been moved to the end of the sentence.

These are only snippets, but they suggest that perhaps Bronzini was not as meticulous in his comparisons as he could have been and that a lot of work still needs to be done. Certainly one explanation for the overlap of B and A in the Latin versions would be an (intermediary) Greek version, combining elements of the published versions B and A.

As regards the witnesses listed by the online BHL for 1657, I can add one more: Bergamo Bib. Civica MAB.64, s. xiii-xiv.¹²³ Further, Ms C.400 at the University library in Uppsala (c. 1375, Konstanz?, fol. 74-81v) appears at first sight to be a witness for 1657 on the basis of its *incipit*.¹²⁴ The *explicit*, however, differs significantly from the ending as printed in Mombricitus and, unless it is a later addition, suggests to me that this

¹²¹ Mombricitus, *Sanctuarium*, p. 283.
¹²² *Florilegium*, p. 74.
¹²³ Spoleto Arch. Duomo, Legendary of St Brizio, 1201-25; Spoleto Arch. Duomo, Legendary of St Felice di Narco vol. 2, 1184.
¹²⁴ ‘Temporibus maxencii inpiisimi imperatoris anno xxxv imperii eius erat multa insania ydolorum’. See M. Andersson-Schmitt & H. Hallberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 4: HSS C 301-400 (1991), s.v. C.400.

manuscript is in fact a witness for 1658.¹²⁵ Again, a note of caution: *incipits* and *explicitis* are rather unreliable tools for determining relationships and dependencies between texts.

Foffano stated that Mombritius, as far as his *Sanctuarium* is concerned, used old manuscripts, employed sound philological criteria to establish the text and did not indulge in humanistic rewritings, although he cited no direct evidence for this.¹²⁶ In a comparative study gone badly wrong, Gerhard Eis (who was to become an expert in Middle High German technical language) claimed to have discovered that Mombritius relied heavily on the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (MLA) for a great number of the legends in his *Sanctuarium*.¹²⁷ Eis' method was one of comparing more than 120 saints from the two collections, citing as proof in his publication never more than one or two 'representative' parallels and not necessarily for each saint. In the case of Katherine the two passages could not be further removed from each other.¹²⁸ Dobson relied on Eis'

¹²⁵ 'decollata est autem sancta katherina mense novembris .. ex cuius ossibus indesinenter oleum manat et cunctorum debilium membra sanat. Passa est autem sub tyranno maxencio circa annos domini cccmo xmo'. See Andersson-Schmitt & Hallberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, s.v. C.400.

¹²⁶ 'compose con validi criteri filologici pubblicando integralmente testi agiografici desunti da antichi codici, senza indulgere a rifacimenti umanistici', Foffano, 'Per la data', 509. Mombritius' reputation as a printer/editor of Classical texts may well have prompted this comment. It remains to be seen whether the account printed in Mombritius was his reworking or whether it is thus preserved in the manuscripts, which would suggest that the 'adaptor' was active much earlier.

¹²⁷ Gehrhard Eis, 'Die Quellen für das Sanctuarium des Mailänder Humanisten Boninus Mombritius: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der großen Legendensammlung des Mittelalters', *Germanische Studien* 140 (1933). Reviewed by H. Delehaye, *AB* 53 (1935), 412-22.

¹²⁸ Eis, 'Die Quellen', 41 & 42:

Mombritius: 'Veniens autem spiculator amputavit cervicem eius, et pro sanguine lac emanavit in terra. Angeli vero venientes tulerunt corpus eius et portaverunt illud in montem Sinai et posuerunt in monumentum novum'.

MLA: 'Mox ille insurgens decollavit eam. Duae res dignae memoria apparuerunt. Una quia lac pro sanguine in testimonium virginalis pudicitiae de corpore eius effusum terram uberius irrigavit. Altera quia mox angeli accesserunt et assumptum corpus per altum in aera subvehentes in montem Sinai deposuerunt, qui mons a loco occisionis distat viginti et eo amplius itineris dierum'.

Eis comments: 'Das Verhältnis des Mombritianischen Textes zu dem des MLA ist ein recht nahes. .. Er hält alles Wesentliche bei und übergeht unwichtiges Beiwerk. .. ständig merkt man die sinnvoll [!] eingreifende Hand des Humanisten. .. Trotz aller glättenden und kürzenden Arbeit des Gelehrten ist jedoch das MLA ganz deutlich als seine Quelle zu erkennen. Die Verwandtschaft springt in die Augen [!]' and so on.

article when he wrote: 'the Austrian collection (the *MLA* into which the epitome 1663a was incorporated) in its turn was the source of the *Sanctuarium* (1480) of Boninus Mombritius, in which the text of the *Passio beatae Catherinae virginis* underwent further shortening'.¹²⁹ The Passion of Katherine in the *MLA* is in fact BHL 1663a – the so-called shorter *Vulgate*.

BHL 1658 and 1662b

I have already touched upon BHL 1658 in the discussion of the Mombritius version, but would like to consider it in its own right now. It is preserved in a manuscript from Monte Cassino (Ms. 117).¹³⁰ However it bears no resemblance at all to BHL 1662, the Cassinese version, and enjoyed a much wider diffusion. Ms. 117 remains its earliest witness so far: most recently it has been assigned to the twelfth century.¹³¹ This text has not yet been edited, so that a discussion of its relationship with the Greek and/or Latin versions remains preliminary.¹³²

At first sight, this version looks like a translation from Greek that has not yet been turned into polished Latin (see also the Mombritius version above). For example, the turn of phrase *habens hanc figuram* is based on περιέχουσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον, while the first phrase of the contents of the letter to the philosophers, *Imperator Maxentius toto orbi et civitatibus salutem*, reflects the Greek word order of Βασιλεὺς

¹²⁹ Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. xviii.

¹³⁰ It begins: 'temporibus Maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno tricesimo quinto regni eius erat multa insania idolorum colentes (*sic*). Et sedens pro tribunali in civitate Alexandrinorum, posuit preceptum ubique sacrificare diis, et misit epistolam habentem hanc figuram'. *Florilegium*, p. 74.

¹³¹ 'This Desiderian *homiliarium* [MC Compact. IX], when complete, must have been nearly in competition with another volume in the Monte Cassino collection, [which was, however,] not written in Beneventan and later than our period [1058-1105], the huge lectionary Monte Cassino 117 (twelfth-century, in ordinary minuscule), which measures 570 x 375 (470 x 285), 2 cols, 50 lines.' Newton, *Scriptorium*, p. 123. Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 301: 'della fine dell' XI o del principio del XII secolo'. For the contents see *Codicum Casinensium .. Catalogus*, vol. 1, p. 186-98. The other witnesses for BHL 1658 are: Como Sem. 6 [xiv-2], s. xii/xiii; Novara Capit. 23, s. xiii/xiv; Novara Capit. 29, s. xiv; Stuttgart WLB xiv.19, 1439-42.

¹³² The *Florilegium* contains the text of Katherine's passion as preserved in Monte Cassino 117, but this manuscript is defective, breaking off in mid-debate, p. 74-76. Bronzini, 'La leggenda', provides extracts from Novara Ms 23 on 314-17.

Μαξέντιος πάση ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει χαίρειν.¹³³ Other examples given by Bronzini are further support for his conclusion that 1658 is ultimately derived from B rather than A.

This can be seen in particular in the speeches Katherine and the philosophers make to each other. From the example below it is clear that B (rather than A) was the model for 1658:

1658	B
<p>Ex aquoso elemento consistunt maria fucate robuste, et multum letantes (sic) repetunt et congregantur in invio pelago hoc est maximum Omeri. Ait enim Aristotiles splendidissimus rethor, ita evidenter affero erupata in maxima visione solantem acerrime solatum in calcabilibus voraginum, subterraneum et in tractum letanter reptant in plenitudine draconis. Secundum capitulum est insultatoris virgilii, sed et radiatus scilicet Dionisius calcabiles semitas rethorum sciens affatus est dicens. Robuste liquido inpudenter et in conpendiosa, et fundo dictione subtiliter variatum, invisibles directiones plane discurrunt impalpabilis semita etc.</p> <p><i>Mention is made also of Asclepius (Scolapius), Philistion, Plato, then the manuscript breaks off.</i>¹³⁴</p>	<p>ἐξ ἁ μνήτου πελαγίσματος ὑ ποκείμενα βάθη σφιρμιγγιλιотρύπτως ἀλκιμωτάτως νηκτῶν πολυκύδων σαφῶς ἐν ἀβάτῳ πελάγει πελματίζουσιν ἄβατον τρίβον. Τοῦτο τοῦ μεγίστου Ὁμήρου βιργιλίου πρῶτον κεφάλαιον. Ἔλεξεν δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀκταιότατος ῥήτωρ, οὕτως· Γομφοτάτῳ σιδήρῳ γεργένομα ἐν ἀβύθοις ἔλιξιν ὑπὸ γαιῶνα συρόντον σφιρμιγγιλιοδαπῇ ν ηκτὰ ε ἰς πλή ρωσιν δράκοντος. Τοῦτο δεύτερον κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολυκύδου βιργιλίου Ἀριστοτέλους. Ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀκταιότατος Διονύσιος, ὁ ἀβάτους ἄβακας λέξει etc.</p> <p><i>Mention is made also of Asclepius, Galen, Philistion, Plato, Iannes and Mambres, Eusebius and the Sibyl.</i>¹³⁵</p>

The reason I cite this particular passage is the expression *fucate robuste*; something similar occurs a little earlier in Katherine’s speech to the emperor: *robustam et fuco*

¹³³ *Florilegium*, p. 75, col. 1. Greek version B (Viteau, *Les Passions*, p. 29, ch. 9). Cf. Greek A: Βασιλεὺς Μαξέντιος πάση πόλει καὶ χώρα τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν [αὐτ]οῦ χαίρειν (Viteau, *Passions*, p. 11, ch. 9).

¹³⁴ *Florilegium*, p. 75, col. 2.

¹³⁵ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 30, ch. 11.

verborum plenam dictionem suscipiens, ita fucatum quoddam sublime verborum quod loquar ad te in sublimi dictione etc.¹³⁶. The combination of these two words recurs in the *Vulgate*:

robustas et fuco verborum plenas dictiones quibus vos fultos ad instantem pugnam video occurrere. (Dob. 353)

However, it also occurs in yet another version, identified by the tag BHL 1662b. Here Katherine begins her first speech to the emperor thus:

robusta et fuco verborum plenam dictionem suscipiens, ita fucatum quoddam verbum loquor ad te, in sublimi dictione multiplice.¹³⁷

What has happened here? Does the *Vulgate* derive from 1658 or from 1662b, or from both, or does the derivation work the other way round?

A closer look at 1662b and its tradition can help to raise the curtain a little. The text is preserved in a unique manuscript from the seventeenth century: Roma Alessandrina 96. Bronzini, who published it, suggested that it is ‘antica’.¹³⁸ On the basis of parallel passages there seems to be a relationship with 1658:

B	1662b	1658
Τότε θαμβηθείς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῇ: ‘Εγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἰσχύω ἀνταποκριθῆναί σοι. Ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἄνδρες ρήτορες καὶ βιργίλιοι, ὅπως δυνήσωνται ἀνταποκριθῆναί σοι κατὰ πάντα σου λόγον ὑψικαρίζοντα, ὅπως πταίσασα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παντελῶς πέσασα τότε ἐν τῇ πολλῇ αἰσχύνῃ σου ἔλθῃς ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ σπείσῃς τοῖς θεοῖς.’ ¹³⁹	Tunc stupefactus imperator dixit ad eam: ‘Ego non valeo respondere tibi, sed venient philosophi virgiliani et rhetores qui ad omnes tuos figuratos sermones respondebunt tibi per omne verbum tuum. Tunc in multa confusione venies quod congruum est tibi et credes diis.’ ¹⁴⁰	Tunc stupefactus imperator dixit: ‘Ego non possum respondere tibi; venient autem rethores et ceteri sapientes ut confundant te cum magna confusione, et sic credas diis.’ ¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ *Florilegium*, p. 74, col. 2. Also: ‘sicut obscurus sermo in vobis et fuco plenum dicite mihi’ (p. 75, col. 1) [also in 1657: ‘si est in vobis obscurus ermo et fusco plenus, dicite mihi’].

¹³⁷ Bronzini, ‘La Leggenda’, 334.

¹³⁸ Bronzini, ‘La Leggenda’, 328-41.

¹³⁹ (Viteau, *Passions*, p. 28, ch. 8.

¹⁴⁰ Bronzini, ‘La Leggenda’, 335.

¹⁴¹ *Florilegium*, p. 75 col. 1.

From this initial example it would seem that 1658 is using 1662b and is shortening it, rather than also directly translating from the Greek – it is not common for two translators of the same or similar passages to produce the same result.

Take the prophecy of the Sibyl about the wood/cross on which Christ died – this only occurs in Greek B.

B	1662b	1658
Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου ἡ σιβύλλα εἶπεν: ὦ ξύλον τρισμακάριστον ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ἐκτετάνυσται, ὁπτριζομένη τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. ¹⁴²	de ligno autem crucis Sibylla dicit: o lignum ter beatum in quo Christus estensus [sic] est, perspiciens lignum crucis. ¹⁴³	de ligno autem Sibilla prospiciens lignum sancte crucis dixit: o lignum ter beatum in quo Christus extensus est. ¹⁴⁴

The detail of *perspiciens lignum crucis* (rendering: ὁπτριζομένη τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ) stands in 1662b where it is in the Greek, while in 1658 it has been moved to the beginning of the sentence so that it now stands next to the *Sibilla* it agrees with. Clearly 1658 is brushing up 1662b.

There seems to be a parallel between these two Latin versions and the additions Landolfus Sagax made to Paul the Deacon’s *Historia Romana*. He worked on the *Historia* during the third quarter of the tenth century at Benevento.¹⁴⁵ Since his method of expansion was one of relying on a great number of earlier historians it is not possible, at this stage at least, to determine how he came to include the following in his work:

De hoc ligno Sibylla dixit apud paganos: ‘o ter beatum lignum in quo deus extensus est.’¹⁴⁶

It is certainly much closer to what the Sibyl says in Katherine’s Greek Passion than the original verse-line from the *Oracula Sibyllina* (a sixth-century collection of Jewish and

¹⁴² Viteau, *Passions*, p. 32.

¹⁴³ Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 336.

¹⁴⁴ Monte Cassino 117 has lacuna, but Novara Bib. Cap. 23 contains the full text. See Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 316.

¹⁴⁵ So M. Festy in the introduction to his edition of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (1999), p. lxxv. Landolfus’ amplification survives in two manuscripts: Vatican Pal. lat. 909, s. x^{ex}, and Bamberg SB, Hist. 2 (HE III 13, s. xi), a *codex descriptus*.

¹⁴⁶ Landolfus Sagax, *Additamenta ad Pauli Historiam Romanam*, ed. H. Droysen (1879), p. 327, l. 33.

Christian authors, ranging from 150 BC until 300 AD).¹⁴⁷ How this Sibyl-quote in Landolfus is related to what the prophetess says in 1662b and 1658 is not clear. It is tempting to see in Landolfus someone who may have had something to do with the translation of 1658, for what his Sibyl says is a little closer to 1658 than 1662b, but that is pure conjecture. Bronzini also compared passages from B with 1662b, but I have found at least one case where the passage in question is actually closer to A.¹⁴⁸

A	1662b
Αὐτὴ ἦν μεμαθηκυῖα <u>πᾶσαν βίβλον</u> <u>ρητορικὴν τῆς ἐκβιογυλίων</u> καὶ δημοσθενικῶν δογμάτων [ἐπιστήμης], πᾶσαν <u>τέχνην</u> Ἀσκληπίου καὶ Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Γαληνοῦ, Ἀριστοτέλους τε καὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος, Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Ἐυσεβίου καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Μαρβροῦ, καὶ σιβύλλης νεκρομαντείας, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσα διήγησις ρητόρων φιλοσόφων .. ¹⁴⁹	didicerat enim <u>omnes libros Virgilii atque</u> <u>rhetoꝛice artis</u> nec non Eusculapii et Galenī, Aristotelis et Homeri, Platonis et Philistionis et Eusebii, Iannes et Mambres, Dionisii et Sybille et quanta Virgilius protulit et Origenes et quantum glorioso genere tantum inclita sagacitate pollebat.

The clinch is *omnes libros Virgilii atque rhetorice artis*, which is closer to A.¹⁵⁰ However, seeing that there are parallels in 1662b with both B and A it is possible that an intermediary Greek text, now lost to us, was used. This would then also explain the parallels between 1662b and 1658.

As already mentioned, the *Vulgate* appears to be in some sort of relationship with 1658 and 1662b over the beginning of Katherine’s speech to the philosophers.¹⁵¹ On closer inspection, 1662b shares many more parallels with the *Vulgate* than any of the other versions. Bronzini thought that these were interpolations that occurred at a later

¹⁴⁷ VI.26: ὦ ξύλον ὦ μακαριστόν, ἐφ’ οὗ θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη. *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, ed. J. Geffcken (1902).

¹⁴⁸ Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 329.

¹⁴⁹ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 7, ch. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. B: ἦν γὰρ μεμαθηκυῖα πᾶσαν βίβλον Ἀσκληπίου καὶ Γαληνοῦ, Ἀριστοτέλους τε καὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Φιλιστίωνος καὶ Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Μαρβροῦ καὶ Διονθίου καὶ σιβυλλῶν νεκρομαντείας καὶ ὅσα ὁ Βιογίλις ἔλεξεν καὶ ὁ Ὀρίων. Viteau, *Passions*, p. 26, ch. 4.

¹⁵¹ ‘robustas et fuco verborum plenas dictiones quibus vos fultos ad instantem pugnam video occurrere.’ (Db. 353)

stage.¹⁵² While this is not an impossibility, the contamination could have happened the other way round, namely that 1662b served as a model for the *Vulgate*. Unlike the *Vulgate*, it is much closer to the Greek text. At the same time, it has already been tampered with: a number of verses from the *Disticha Catonis* (s. iii^{ex}) have been inserted into the text.¹⁵³

1662b ¹⁵⁴	<i>Disticha Catonis</i>
<u>nec te collaudes, nec te vituperes</u> ¹⁵⁵ <u>ipse;</u> <u>hoc faciunt stulti quos gloria vexat inanis.</u>	<u>nec te conlaudes, nec te culpaveris ipse;</u> <u>hoc faciunt stulli, quos gloria vexat inanis.</u> (bk. 2, <i>distichon</i> 16, p. 224)
nam <u>tu si te animo rexeris rex es, si</u> <u>corpore servus</u>	<u>tu si animo regeris, rex es; si corpore,</u> <u>servus</u> (<i>monostichon</i> , 7, p. 237)

But aside from the *Disticha*, there are many passages that have been touched up to produce a much smoother text than the translationese still present in places. Some of these touched-up passages recur verbatim in the *Vulgate*.

Bronzini saw in the *Vulgate*-author a translator who was working on the basis of A (but who was also amplifying it), citing as an example a parallel between the two texts.¹⁵⁶ However, Bronzini’s parallel, i.e. the description of the public sacrifice under the aegis of Maxentius, is also present in the Alessandrina-version, which, as we have seen, is still an unpolished translation in places. Could not the *Vulgate*’s apparent closeness to a Greek account be due to its relationship with 1662b, which is a translation? This would, for example, account for the list of philosophers Katherine refers to in her initial speech to the philosophers, already present in the Greek accounts, but also present in two lists in 1662b. Another passage cited by Bronzini in support for his supposition that the *Vulgate* was a translation of A is the description of the

¹⁵² ‘.. questi tratti, che ritroviamo in parte nella *Vulgata*, possono essere entrati successivamente nella tradizione di R [Aless. 96], che a noi è giunta senza dubbio notevolmente ampliata’, Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 332.

¹⁵³ The same quotes resurface in Peter’s version at exactly the same place in the story. See D’Angelo, *Pietro Suddiacono*, II.33 & II.49. *Disticha Catonis*, ed. M. Boas & H.J. Botschuyver (1952).

¹⁵⁴ For the text, see Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 334 & 335.

¹⁵⁵ In 1662b *vituperes* does not scan – the original *culpaveris* does.

¹⁵⁶ Bronzini, ‘La leggenda’, 363-64.

philosophers' death in the fire – true, the parallel between the two texts is there, but yet again this is also present in the Alessandrina version.¹⁵⁷

This potential model for the *Vulgate* survives in a single manuscript: Alessandrina 96 is a collection of saints' Lives of November and December, put together by Costantino Gaetano (1560-1650).¹⁵⁸ Custodian of the Vatican library later in his life, Gaetano bequeathed his prodigious collection of manuscripts to the Collegium Gregorianum de Urbe (which he founded in 1621), a place of study for the Benedictine order.¹⁵⁹

We know how Gaetano went about collecting manuscripts and texts: in the margins of his manuscripts he often indicated in which library he had found and copied a particular text.¹⁶⁰ In the case of the Alessandrina 96, which contains saints' Lives for the months of November and December, the marginal comment appears to be: 'ex ms. perant. cathedralis Reatinae'.¹⁶¹ Other libraries visited for the same collection include Monte Cassino (Ms. 70), Mantova, and the Vatican.¹⁶²

On the basis of Gaetano's the marginal note, it seems reasonable to suppose that the manuscript from which he copied Katherine's Passion was indeed an old one. Given that he was in charge of the Vatican's collection of manuscripts and given his own personal interest in manuscripts,¹⁶³ he would not have called a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript very old, so Gaetano's judgement with regard to the lost

¹⁵⁷ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', p. 372.

¹⁵⁸ Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Orientales qui in Bibliotheca Alexandrina Romae adservantur*, (1877), p. 55-61. See also A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae* (1909), p. 181.

¹⁵⁹ José Ruysschaert, 'Costantino Gaetano, O.S.B.: Chasseur de manuscrits: contribution à l'histoire de trois Bibliothèques Romaines du XVII^e s.: L'Anciana, L'Alessandrina et La Chigi', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 7 (1964), 261-326.

¹⁶⁰ 'Souvent est indiquée nommément la bibliothèque où se trouvait le texte original reproduit. À part le Mont-Cassin et la Vaticane, cités pour de nombreux manuscrits, la plupart du temps, ces bibliothèques n'ont été visitées que pour un seul manuscrit'. Ruysschaert, 'Costantino Gaetano', 265.

¹⁶¹ Poncelet, *Catalogus*, p. 181 who preserves the *perantiquo*. See Narducci, *Catalogus*, p. 57.

¹⁶² See Narducci, *Catalogus*, p. 55-61. The Life of Barbara, fol. 369a-373b (BHL 917p-q), was also copied from a manuscript at Rieti.

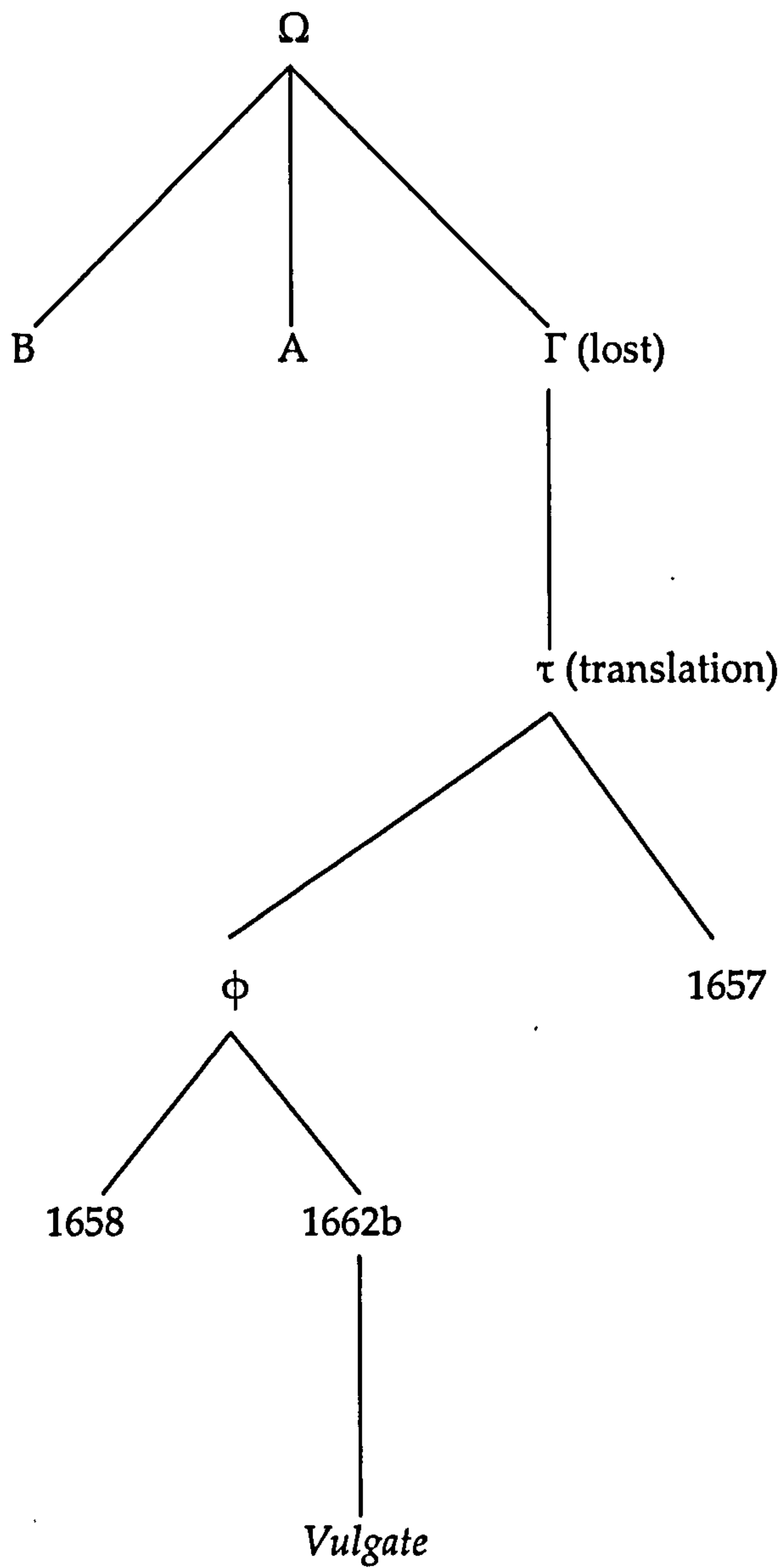
¹⁶³ At the time of his death, Gaetano's library comprised 527 manuscripts. See Ruysschaert, 'Costantino Gaetano', 266.

Rieti manuscript can be considered sound (although it is of course impossible to be any more precise – close scrutiny of the Alessandrina 96, as regards its contents and make up, might shed some light on the manuscripts used for its production). It also seems reasonable to suppose that Gaetano copied the text of Katherine's Passion as he found it. If this was the case, the 'interpolations' with the *Vulgate*, the way in which Bronzini described the parallels between the two texts, must date from the time when the Rieti manuscript was produced.¹⁶⁴

It is probably due to the recentness of the witness that Bronzini thought the parallels between 1662b and *Vulgate* were due to later interpolations, but what matters here is not the date of the manuscript but its contents. Bronzini himself demonstrated that 1662b is a translation, but he was mistaken in seeing in the *Vulgate* yet another translation. As I will show in the following chapter, the *Vulgate* is very obviously the work of someone who had some skill in composing, in Latin, a relatively long saint's life such as that of Katherine. At the same time, he must have been working from a model, because it is impossible otherwise to explain the *Vulgate's* storyline, which is more or less the same in all accounts, be they Greek or Latin. The missing link could have been a text that looked something like 1662b, which would certainly be an outstanding example of how a recent manuscript can help to disentangle an early stage in a text's tradition.

¹⁶⁴ The Fonte Colombo of the Biblioteca Comunale Paroniana at Rieti preserves eleven manuscripts, none of them with any saints' Lives, see G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 2 (1892), p. 166-70

Like in Bronzini’s case, the temptation to produce a stemma of the principal relationships between the Greek and Latin accounts is very tempting. I propose the following, but would not wish to claim that this reflects what really happened. Rather, it should be seen as an indication of what could have happened, and is subject to further investigation:



BHL 1662 (Monte Cassino 139 & 149) seems independent. I have not taken into account Peter’s account of Katherine’s Passion (BHL 1659-1661b).

There are another two Latin versions, identified by the tags BHL 1662d and 1662e respectively. Seeing that these two texts have had a very narrow diffusion, with only one surviving manuscript for each text and that they have had no apparent influence on the *Vulgate*, I will only briefly list them here.

1662d

One manuscript: Bruxelles, BR 944, s. xii.

Bronzini thought this version descended from the separate tradition he had identified for the *MB*.¹⁶⁵ However, it appears to be in some relationship with B and A (or perhaps a now lost intermediary text); in places, it reads like a translation. In particular, it keeps the speeches short. Also, it retains the gruesome detail of the Queen's punishment, which has been altered in BHL 1662 and the *Vulgate*, and which is not present at all in 1657 or Peter's account. Certain episodic details, present in the *Vulgate*, are missing from this version, so that a relationship between the two appears unlikely. However, the presence of this translation in a twelfth-century manuscript now in Belgium shows that it was plausible for such a translation to travel from Italy (where it was likely to have been produced) to France, as I have suggested in the case of BHL 1662b. One would of course need to examine the provenance of Brussels 944, as well as its contents, in order confirm this hypothesis.

1662e

One manuscript: Ivrea Bib.Cap. 104 (CV), s. xiv.

This account begins: *igitur Constantinus cum rempublicam strenue in Galliis procuraret*. Although its *incipit* reads like that of the *Vulgate*, this version reveals itself to be a witness to the *Legenda Aurea*, or at least to be a contaminated version.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 321-27.

¹⁶⁶ Ilo Vignono, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Ivrea* (1967), s.v. 104. See Poncelet, AB 41, 336-41, esp. 339: '*igitur Constantinus cum rempublicam strenue in Galliis procuraret, Maxentius vero praetorium Romae gubernaret, inter eos bellum civile exortum est - des. haec autem omnia insimul fuerunt in beata Katherina.*' Ultima pars totidem paene verbis legitur in *Legenda*

Conclusion

Knowledge of St Katherine came to Normandy through its varied connections with Italy, where she had begun to appear in calendars towards the end of the tenth century. Although there were direct contacts between Sinai and Normandy as personified by Symeon of Trier, it is difficult to attribute the emergence of her cult at Rouen to any such direct contact. It is much more likely that her story was brought to northern France by one of the Italian monastic reformers or a visitor returning from Italy.

Her emerging cult in Italy was preceded by the arrival there of her Greek Passion, particularly versions B and A, which resulted in a number of translations and adaptations into Latin.¹⁶⁷ As is abundantly clear from my brief comparative study, there is a huge amount of contamination between the various Latin versions. Definite conclusions as their relationships can only really be drawn once all of them have received their own investigation and edition. This relatively unstable corpus of texts could also be an indication for a cult that was still relatively young, and had not yet gained a foothold in the congregation of saints. Two accounts of Katherine's Passion emerge as the most successful: that of Peter and the *Vulgate*. The reason for their success partly lies in the way the two authors composed their texts: neither of the two are direct translations from Greek or are latinizations of a translation. But while Peter's account belongs to a higher literary sphere (with its choice vocabulary such as *famen*), that of the *Vulgate* steers a middle course. The identification of BHL 1662d (Alessandrina 96) as a potential model for the *Vulgate* could be the missing link between Italy and Normandy. One would of course have to examine the manuscript very closely to determine its exact date and provenance, as well as the text it contains.

The conspicuous lack of early Italian manuscripts for the *Vulgate* and a number of Norman witnesses point towards the possibility of it having been written in France. I will seek confirmation of this hypothesis in the next chapter.

Aurea, c. 172 (167).¹ See also *Iacopo da Varazze, Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni P. Maggioni, vol. 2 (1998), p. 1215.

¹⁶⁷ The earliest, now lost, example of this is the entry of her name in the index of München Clm 4554.

Timeline

c. 910 – c. 970	Peter Subdeacon of Naples Writes/translates a Passion of St Katherine
942	Odo of Cluny dies – travels to Italy on a number of occasions
980s	John (later John III abbot of Monte Cassino) spends six years on Mt Sinai
c. 1004	Nilus of Rossano dies
by c. 1016	Norman pilgrims on way back from Jerusalem come to south Italy
c. 1026	Symeon meets Richard of St Vanne and Eberwin of Trier in Jerusalem
post-1026	Symeon arrives in Rouen (after death of Richard II)
c. 1030	La Sainte Trinité du mont de Rouen founded by Goscelin and Emmeline
1033	Isembert consecrated first abbot of Trinity at Rouen Monk Ainard (d. 1078) writes office of St Katherine
1035	Symeon dies at Trier
c. 1036	Eberwin writes Life of Symeon
pre-1047	Katherine's relics at Rouen
c. 1054-1090	Composition of the <i>T&M</i>
1075	Relics of Katherine at Monte Cassino
c. 1080s	Monte Cassino Ms 139 (and Ms 149 under Oderisius)
1083	Reference to Katherine's relics at Rouen in a charter
c. 1085	Alfanus dies – reference to oil in his poems on Katherine
c. 1102	Hugh of Flavigny dies He has seen a manuscript of the <i>Vita S. Symeonis</i> and the <i>T&M</i> at Rouen
1478	Mombritius prints his <i>Sanctuarium</i>
c. 1595-1650	C. Gaetano puts together Alessandrina 96

CHAPTER 3

The *Vulgate* – a discussion of its diction and sources

An aspect of the *Vulgate* that has so far not been studied, is the choice of diction and the use of literary texts, both of which can offer evidence of location and date. The manuscript evidence in combination with the emerging cult in Normandy suggests a French origin; this is supported by internal evidence. In view of a renewed interest in Katherine and her cult, a more accurate picture of the origin of the *Vulgate* is essential.

The compositional use of two texts above all others (the anonymous *Consultationes Zacchei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi* [CZA] and Ambrose Aupert's *Conflictus Vitiorum et Virtutum* [*Conflictus*]), which can loosely be ascribed to the genre of apologetic literature, sheds light not only on the interests of the author but also on the transmission of the texts put to use in the *Vulgate*. The transmission and availability of these sources can further add to the localization and date of the *Vulgate*'s composition. The detection of sources inside the *Vulgate* can also help to resolve problematic manuscript readings and can clarify the process of epitomization undergone by the *Vulgate*.

The use of literary sources in the *Vulgate* falls into two categories, which I call conscious and unconscious borrowing/use.¹ Within the category of unconscious borrowing fall phrases and echoes of the Bible, Church fathers and other influential authors of the middle ages, and even widely-read school-authors such as Vergil. This literacy is to be expected; it can add little to our understanding of the author and his milieu – although there are two words in particular that give almost as much insight as the use of conscious sources. The conscious use of a source manifests itself when more than a phrase is employed at one or more places in the text. From this it is possible to

¹ ‘.. la recherche des sources pose un problème particulièrement aigu en hagiographie: le genre étant fortement stéréotypé, il y a d’avantage de *loci similes* que d’emprunts véritables’. Goullet, *Adsonis Dervensis Opera hagiographica* (2003), p. lxiii.

see what books seem important to our author and, judging from their content, what kind of message he wanted to send out couched within the confines of the *Vulgate*.

What is particularly interesting is the way in which the author incorporated two dialogue-based texts into a hagiographical one. The setting of the dialogues in *CZA* and the *Conflictus* does not pretend to tell a story but is the carrier of a message: in the *CZA* it is aimed at a predominantly pagan or newly-converted audience, while in the *Conflictus* the focus is on communities of monks in order to strengthen their resolve to lead a life away from the world and its pleasures. The *Vulgate* becomes the carrier of the combined message from both these sources, embedded in a narrative of much wider appeal.

This chapter is divided into three broad sections: firstly, I will examine the literacy of the *Vulgate* in terms of unconscious sources (as defined); secondly, I will study the prologue that precedes the account, and thirdly, I will look at the conscious use of sources. The diverse evidence gathered in this way can furnish vital clues as to the origin of the *Vulgate*, in the literal (geographical) and metaphorical (*causa scribendi*) sense.

1. The use of unconscious sources

1.1 Polysyllabic adverbs in -ter

The *Vulgate*-author displays a particular fondness for polysyllabic adverbs ending in -ter.² Specifically, the use of the adverb *constanter* is programmatic. It is applied to Katherine four times and once each with reference to those protagonists who decide to convert to Christianity. The distribution of the adverb throughout the *Vulgate* is also not haphazard:

Katherine	Other protagonists
Prologue <i>furentem presequentium rabiem constanter evicit</i> (Dob. 26)	
	Archangel Michael <i>ne paveas .. grata Deo puella, sed constanter age</i> (Dob. 311)
	Philosophers <i>.. te diutius fallere .. nolumus, sed constanter fatemur ..</i> (Dob. 529)
Dragged off for flogging: <i>ubi cum duceretur, constanter tyranno ait</i> (Dob. 650)	
During the flogging: <i>sed virgo, feriente robustior, imperante sublimior, sciscitanti constanter respondit</i> (Dob. 660)	
	Empress <i>se in conspectu belue sevientis constanter immersit</i> (Dob. 972)
	Crowd of pagans <i>vere, magnus est deus Christianorum, cuius nos servos ab hodierno die constanter profiteamur</i> (Dob. 982)
	Porphirius <i>Porphirius, constanter ante tribunal imperatoris irruit</i> (Dob. 1028)

² They are, in alphabetical order: *audenter, celeranter, constanter, contemptibiliter, crudeliter, decenter, feliciter, immutabiliter, inaniter, incomparabiliter, indeficienter, innocenter, inutiliter, pariter, perenniter, potenter, qualiter, singulariter, specialiter, taliter, temporaliter, unanimiter, vehementer, viriliter*.

Whoever composed the account of Katherine's relics was even fonder of adverbs in *-ter*,³ very noticeably in a text considerably shorter than the *Vulgate*. Also conspicuous are a number of grecisms such as *chenodochium*, *hebdomada* or *paralyticus*, as well as a number of choice words, for instance *frivolitas* (also in the miracles of St Bertin [BHL 1296 [written c. 1052), all of which lead me to believe that the *T&M* was not the work of the *Vulgate*-author, whose work is largely free of grecisms and archaisms. This could be a first indication for a *terminus ante quem* for the *Vulgate*. Given that the date of composition of 1054 to 1090 has been proposed for the *T&M*, it follows that the *Vulgate* was written either before this period or at the same time because the manuscripts, as I shall discuss in the next chapter, suggest that the *Vulgate* was composed in the first half of the eleventh century.

1.2 Celeranter – towards a chronological and geographical map

'Stupens itaque causam celeranter iubet inquiri' (Dob. 92)

The most interesting of the adverbs in *-ter* for 'carbon-dating' is *celeranter*. This alternative to *celeriter* is not common. It was used by the second-cent.-BC tragedian Lucius Accius in his play *Antenoridae*, cited by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus in book eleven (entitled: *De indiscretis adverbis*⁴) of his *De compendiosa doctrina*:

Celeranter, pro celeriter. Accius Antenoridis (123):

*Sed quis est qui matutinum cursum huc celeranter rapit?*⁵

Nonius came from Thubursicum (mod. Khamissa in Algeria), and since Priscian (s. vex-vi) cites him he must have lived in the previous century. The main benefit, so-to-speak, of his treatise is that it contains a mass of citations of authors that have otherwise been

³ including *actorizaliter* (a hapax or variation on *auctorizabiliter*).

⁴ Book eleven, *De indiscretis adverbis*, 'behandelt die abnormen Endungen der Adverbia; in der Regel erwähnt N. neben dem abnormen Adverb auch die allgemein geltende Form; es sei jedoch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß manche Adverbia ohne ein Wort der Erklärung aufgeführt worden sind.' Col. 885, s.v. Nonius in *Pauly-Wissowa*. The article in the latter is to be preferred to that in *DNP*, although the newer recension includes recent bibliography.

⁵ p. 513, l. 22-23 in *Nonius Marcellus: De compendiosa doctrina*, ed. Lindsay.

lost, among them Accius. Guided by *veterum auctoritas* Nonius chose authors on the basis of their archaizing vocabulary.⁶

Nonius' survival was assured through the interest accorded to him by Carolingian scholars: L, the manuscript regarded by Nonius' twentieth-century editor as the most faithful, was 'written at Tours in the early years of the ninth century, probably while Alcuin was still Abbot of St Martin's'.⁷ On the basis of the first manuscript-family out of three (all derived from one archetype), 'the valley of the Loire' emerges as 'the centre of Nonius' transmission'.⁸ Nonius' work is mentioned in only two medieval library catalogues: one from the eleventh century compiled at St Vincent, Metz, and one from the twelfth century put together at St Amand.⁹

The only other authors who used *celeranter* in their writings were Ermoldus Nigellus, Milo of St Amand, and John the Scot. All three were active during the ninth century in France. Did they come across *celeranter* through their reading of Nonius, or had they read it somewhere else, perhaps in a late antique poem now lost?

The little we know about Ermoldus he tells us himself. He was a monk, or perhaps a secular priest in Aquitaine, and close to Pippin, the king of Aquitaine.¹⁰ In his poem *In honorem Hludovici imperatoris* he displays knowledge of historical events, suggesting that he had accompanied Pippin on his march against the Bretons in 823. Following his exile to Strasbourg under Bishop Bernold – a punishment for his negative influence on Pippin – Ermoldus started in 826 to compose his poem in honour of Louis, Pippin's father, in order to bring about his 'release'. As this had little effect, he wrote

⁶ This paragraph is based on *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. Nonius.

⁷ Reynolds, 'Nonius Marcellus', in *Texts and Transmission*, p. 250. The siglum L stands for Leiden Voss. Lat. F.73.

⁸ Reynolds, 'Nonius Marcellus', p. 251. After an examination of all the manuscripts Reynolds reiterates, on p. 252, that Nonius circulated mainly in one area. The other main witnesses to *De compendiosa doctrina* are: Florence Laur. 48.1, s. ix¹, corr. by Lupus of Ferrières; London Harley 2719, s. ix/x, Brittany; Escorial M.III.14, s. ix^{2/3}, Auxerre?; Geneva lat. 84, s. ix, Fulda; Berne 83, s. ix, Reims (Hincmar's time); Cambridge UL Mm.5.22, s. ix^{ex}, Bourges; Paris lat. 7667, s. x, Fleury.

⁹ See Reynolds, 'Nonius Marcellus', p. 252 n. 17.

¹⁰ See Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur* vol. 1 (1911), p. 552-57. Outdated but still useful is Henkel, *Über den Historischen Werth der Gedichte des Ermoldus Nigellus* (1876).

another, this time to flatter Pippin, and by 833 he seems to have returned to court: Louis was sending him on errands to Pippin.¹¹

Ermoldus' poems bear the stamp of Fortunatus' poetry, are written in hexameters but retain an elegiac mood. Manitius mentions his penchant for grecisms and archaizing words such as *induperator* and *induperatrix*, first used by Ennius.¹² Despite his literary efforts Ermoldus and his poems are not mentioned by any of his contemporaries, although the Life of St Leodegar, bishop of Autun (d. c. 679), contains at least one allusion to his verse.¹³ There are only two manuscripts that survive.¹⁴

As we know so little about him, it is difficult to determine where and how Ermoldus found *celeranter*, although his use of the adverb fits in nicely with the picture painted of him by Manitius. It is not to be excluded that he had come across Nonius at some point, but this is pure conjecture. The fact remains that he used the adverb twice in book one of his Louis-poem:

Mittantur missi, qui celeranter eant? (l. 432)
laudibus et donis pergit celeranter onustus (l. 611).

¹¹ The *Astronomus* seems to be referring to him in his Life of Louis the emperor (*Vita Hludovici imperatoris*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64, c. 53, p. 498: *mandavit filio Pippino per Hermoldum abbatem, res ecclesiasticas quae in regno eius erant, quas ver ipse suis attribuerat vel ipsi sibi praeripuerant, absque cunctatione ecclesiis restitui*).

¹² Manitius, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 556.

¹³ 'Nam quo saepissime nominativum absolutum posuit pro ablativo et verbo finito, non tam Fortunati exemplum eum commovit, quod cum ceteris huius aevi habet commune, quam Ermoldi Nigelli clerici Aquitani', so Traube in *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 3, p. 3. In note 3 on the same page he writes: 'etiam similiter atque Ermoldus in metaplasmodum barbarismos hagiographus incurrit'. I have not compared the Life of Leodegar with Ermoldus' poems.

This metric life was perhaps written at Poitiers, in the first half of the ninth century. It is based on Ursinus' 8th-century prose version, and survives in at least one manuscript (St Gallen 573, s. ix-x).

¹⁴ 'Merkwürdig bleibt aber daß weder die Person Ermolds noch seine Gedichte bei irgend einem Zeitgenossen erwähnt werden; dazu stimmt, daß die Überlieferung der Gedichte eine ungemein spärliche ist'. Manitius, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 553. The manuscripts are: Vienna OSB 614, s. x (poem on Louis only). The proem to the Louis-poem contains an acrostic: *Ermoldus cecinit Hludoici Caesaris arma*. London Harley 3685, s. xv, seems to have been copied from the Vienna manuscript, at least the text of the Louis poem. The Harley manuscript also preserves the Pippin poem. For a discussion of the manuscripts see Pertz, *Ermoldi Nigelli Carmina* (1829), p. 464-66.

The real clinch comes in the form of Milo's metrical Life of St Amand, in four books, written between 845 and 855. Milo (d. 871/72) had been a pupil of Haimin of St Waast in Arras (who also taught Heiric of Auxerre) – he initially dedicated the Life of St Amand to his teacher.¹⁵ The language of his poetry is simple, and his principal models are Vergil and Sedulius.¹⁶ Like Ermoldus, Milo placed *celeranter* always in the same *sedes*, but he used it five times and at least once in each book:

subditus obsequio famulus celeranter in omni (1.175)

consilium, sanctum sed enim celeranter Amandum/ unanimes adeunt (2.237)

incolumes udas nautae celeranter harenas / impressere suis plantis (2.261)

Aspirante deo describens carmine vitam / praesulis egregii sanctam celeranter Amandi
(3.2)

horum celeranter adiuit / belliger insignis terras (4.61)

The witnesses to the poem suggest that it circulated mainly in the area around St Amand,¹⁷ while medieval catalogues attest that it was also available at St Bertin and Anchin (founded 1079).¹⁸ Like the manuscripts, Amand's cult in the ninth century was limited to the area of northern France and Belgium and remained a fairly local one.¹⁹ The monastery he founded was just north of Valenciennes (Elnone = Saint-Amand-les-Eaux). Given that Milo was such a famous and influential poet and, moreover, that the poem in which he used *celeranter* is a hagiographical text, it seems likely that the *Vulgate*-author, himself engaged in a hagiographical task, had come across *celeranter* in the Life of St Amand. In addition, there is also a more or less direct link between Milo and Nonius in the shape of the twelfth-century catalogue from St Amand mentioned above.

Finally, John the Scot (fl. 850) used *celeranter* to gloss *properanter* in Martianus Capella.²⁰ It is much more difficult to establish where John had plucked *celeranter* from,

¹⁵ *Reverentissimo patri Haimino Milo devotissimus filiorum indelebilem aeternae felicitatis iocunditatem*. Traube, p. 566.

¹⁶ Manitius, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 579. Milo also wrote a didactic poem entitled *De sobrietate*, modelled on Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and Aldhelm's *De virginitate*.

¹⁷ Traube identified the following in his 1896 edition, p. 559: Valenciennes 414, s. ix^{ex}, prov. St Amand; Valenciennes 502, s. xi, prov. St Amand; Douai 857, s. x + xii, prov. Marchiennes, as well as Bruxelles BR 8721-28, s. xii, and a manuscript containing fragments at Copenhagen KB 520 (*olim Tottiniana*).

¹⁸ Manitius, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 580.

¹⁹ LMA, s.v. Amandus.

²⁰ glos. Mart. 479,7, p. 192, 2, *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*, ed. Cora E. Lutz (1939).

not least because he was so well read and produced prodigious amounts of literary, philosophical, and theological works. He is known to have had links with Laon, where a community of Irish scholars were active,²¹ notably Martin Hibernensis (d. 875).²²

All of these authors were writing in verse or commenting on verse, and we notice a particular cluster in ninth-century Francia. *Celeranter* reveals itself as an adverb used in metre and with a particular archaizing flavour. By using *celeranter* in the *Vulgate*, our author unwittingly reveals how he may have come across it. While it is not to be excluded that he had knowledge of Nonius or Ermoldus, it does not seem likely that he would have been acquainted with John's glossing of Martianus' *properanter* with *celeranter*. As already mentioned, it seems much more likely that he derived the adverb from Milo's poem about St Amand.

Celeranter is also used once in the miracle collection of St Dado (Audoenus/Ouen) of Rouen [BHL 760], written by one Fulbert, a monk, before 1092.²³ According to the BHL online it is preserved in one single manuscript: Rouen Y 41, s. xii (fol. 181-209v), from St Ouen in Rouen.²⁴ Fulbert perhaps derived the adverb independently from Milo, a fellow hagiographer but, short of a more detailed examination of these miracles, this is all that can be said at the moment.

²¹ See 'John Scottus and the Irish "Colony" at Laon', in Contreni, *The cathedral school of Laon* (1978), 81-111.

²² See Dionisotti, 'Greek grammars and dictionaries', in *The sacred nectar of the Greeks: the study of Greek in the West in the early Middle Ages*, ed. M.W. Herren (1988), p. 45-54: Laon 444, s. ix² (its main body contains a Greek-Latin glossary) – if not a compilation – is a transcription from previously existing exemplars undertaken by Martin Hibernensis, perhaps due to John's influence.

²³ Vos igitur, quia pars impia abscessit, vos, inquam, filii nolite deficere; Patris vestri sacrum loculum celeranter attollite. Ecce vobis adstat ad iuvandum paratus, qui vos ingrato otio remorabatur immotus.' Text at AASS August IV, p. 825-37, esp. 828W. The date is according to the Namur Hagiographies database. See also Elizabeth van Houts, 'L'oralité dans l'hagiographie normande aux xi et xii siècles', *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, ed. Pierre Bouet & Francois Neveux (2000), p. 88; and Lucien Musset, 'Recherches sur les pelerins et les pelerinages en Normandie jusqu'à la Première Croisade', *Annales de Normandie* 12 (1962), 127-50, esp. 132.

²⁴ Ancient call-mark: Y.20. The greater part of this manuscript contains lives and miracles of and readings about St Ouen, as well as lives of other saints associated with Rouen or Normandy, such as Romanus (BHL 7310-20) and Vulganius (BHL 8746-b). See *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des B.P. de France*, vol. 1: Rouen, Henri Omont (1886), p. 404-09.

1.3 *Tarinca* – a Gallic word

Besides *celeranter* there is one more word in the *Vulgate* which can be localized. It occurs as a descriptive part of the wheels amongst which Katherine is placed: *inter serras et tarincas ferreas* (Dob. 949). The word *tarinca* is extremely rare; the context suggests that it means ‘nail’ or ‘spike’.²⁵ It is a latinization of a vernacular word of Gallic origin.²⁶ Unlike *celeranter*, a literary word, which was used by authors living in a particular area and period (ninth-century France), *tarinca* is a word that ‘lives’ in or originates from a particular region. In other words, it seeped into the *Vulgate* almost by an unconscious slip of the author’s pen into the vernacular, while *celeranter* clearly involved literary activity.

Apart from in the *Vulgate* the word is used only in the Life of St Quintinus and in those of Fuscianus and Victoricus. BHL 7000, an early account of St Quintinus’ Life, is preserved in an eight/ninth-century manuscript, probably written at Corbie.²⁷ The alternative form *taringas* occurs in BHL 7009, a ninth-century version of Quintinus’ Life,²⁸ and here its author adds: *sudes ferreas, quae Gallica lingua taringae vocantur*.²⁹ The

²⁵ It is not in the *OLD*, *Lewis & Short*, *PL*, *CETEDOC*, *MGH*, *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. The *MLD*’s (still unpublished) holdings yield three quotations for *tarinca*, of which the earliest is from the *Vita Haroldi* [ob. 1066], written in England before 1216.

²⁶ It has been postulated that *tarinca* is related to *tarare*, also a Gallic word, from which is derived the Modern French word *taranche*, ‘a large nail of iron’. See *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: Eine Darstellung des Galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, ed. by Walther v. Wartburg, vol. 13 (1966), s. v. ‘*tarinca’. Under the lemma *tero*, Walde-Hofmann (*Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*) cite Isidore Orig. 19, 19.14: *taratrum, quasi teratrum*, and also compare Irish *tairnge* [**taringia*] ‘nail’. Also in Dottin, *La langue Gauloise* (1920), p. 291, and Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* (2003), p. 291.

²⁷ Torino, BN D.V.3, s. viii-ix, north-east France, probably Corbie. See *CLA*, vol. iv, no. 446.

²⁸ *LMA*, s.v. Quintinus.

²⁹ *AASS* 1. Oct. XIII, Dies 31, p. 799A. It is not entirely clear what *Gallica lingua* refers to. When Cassiodorus employs the phrase (Viv. 8.12: *Romanum eloquium non suis regionibus invenisti et ibi te tulliana lectio disertum reddidit, ubi quondam gallica lingua resonavit*), he is contrasting the Latin language with what he considers the Celtic language. Isidore of Seville (Etym. 11.1: *toles Gallica lingua dicuntur, quas vulgo per diminutionem tusillas vocant, quae in faucibus turgescere solent*) is probably echoing Cassiodorus, or making an inherited statement. More interesting is its use by Gregory of Tours, who was after all living right in the middle of Francia. He is using the phrase to refer to the local, in other words vernacular, language spoken in the area: *Hist.* 1.32: *Arvernus, delubrum illud, quod Gallica lingua Vasso Galate vocant..*

reason the ‘spikes’ recur in these two accounts is that this was one of the methods by which Quintinus was martyred:

*tunc Ricciovarus iussit vocari fabrum ferrarium, ut faceret tarincas duas quae a cervice usque ad crura eius attingerent, et alias decem, quas inter ungulas et carnem mitterent in digitos eius, et sic consummaretur.*³⁰

The cult of St Quintinus, or Quentin, was already active in the sixth century, particularly at St Quentin in Picardie, where the saint is said to have been martyred. Bede includes Quentin in his Martyrology, and Gregory of Tours gives a little account of how Quentin’s body was found.³¹ Fuscianus and Victoricus were martyred at about the same time in the same area: they had been missionaries to the Morini people and were beheaded at Amiens.³² Their entry in Usuard’s *Martyrology* reads:

*civitate Ambianis, sanctorum martyrum Gentiani et Fusciani. In horum naribus vel auribus iussit iudex tarincas immitti, et clavis candentibus capita transfigi, deinde oculos evelli ac postremum per eorum corpora iaculari; sicque una cum sancto Victorico, hospite suo, capitibus amputatis migraverunt ad Dominum.*³³

Their feast-day appears in Florus’ *Martyrology*, from whom Usuard took the names, although his entry is longer and more detailed.³⁴ There is no trace of the two saints in Bede’s *Martyrology*. This furnishes a period roughly between 735 (Bede’s death) and c.

³⁰ AASS 1. Oct. XIII, Dies 31, p. 783A.

³¹ See *Edition pratique des martyrologes*, Dubois & Renaud, p. 197: ‘In Galliis, sancti Quintini, qui sub Maximiano imperatore martyrium passus est: et post annos quinquaginta quinque inventum est, revelante angelo, corpus eius et sepultum, viii kal. jul.’ Gregory, *Liber in gloria martyrum* (SS rer. Merov.) vol.1.2, cap. 72 (begins): ‘apud Virmandinsim vero oppidum Galliarum Quintinus martyr quiescit, cuius beatum corpus a quadam religiosa, quae dudum fuerat caecata, repperitur. Sed mox ut a fluminis fundi relevatum est, miraculum protulit, cum mulieris facie, ubi primum inluxit, lumina caecata restituit.’

³² ‘The account of these martyrs .. tells us that [they] were missionaries who came into Gaul at the same time as St Quentin, and set themselves the task of evangelizing the Morini. .. [Gentianus, a local pagan with whom they stayed] told them that St Quentin had been martyred six weeks earlier.’ Rictiovarus appears to have been their torturer too. ‘Among the embroideries of the story .. is that they rose up and walked away with their severed heads after execution.’ *Butler’s lives*, vol. iv, p. 539 (see also new edition, p. 94).

³³ *Le martyrologe d’Usuard: texte et commentaire*, Jacques Dubois (1965), p. 357.

³⁴ *Le martyrologe*, Dubois, p. 357. In the first version of Florus: ‘In Galliis, civitate Ambianensis [sic], natale sanctorum martyrum Victorici et Fusciani’, p. 222 in *Edition pratique des martyrologes*, Dubois & Renaud.

860 (death of Florus) for the emergence of their cult.³⁵ One of the versions of their Passion [BHL 3226] is preserved in Paris, BN lat. 12598, s. viii-ix and was written in the Lowlands or north-eastern France.³⁶

So *tarinca*, I believe, occurs only in two saints' lives, both of which are based in northern France/the Lowlands and were probably written there. This suggests that anyone else using the same word either had read one of these two accounts and/or was himself living in that area. In conjunction with what I have said about *celeranter* both possibilities seem likely.

1.4 Other choice words

More tenuous as regards chronological or geographical placing are the following words: *sceptriber*, *contrahiscere*, *inserpere*, *barbarizare*, and *incantatrix*.

facio et ego tibi sceptribere imaginis statuam in medio ciuitatis erigi (Dob. 580)

Like the adverb *celeranter*, and more obviously, *sceptriber* is an adjective favoured by poets.³⁷ It was used already by classical authors such as Ovid, Seneca and particularly by Silius Italicus and Statius. In Late Antiquity Claudian and Martianus Capella (in a verse-section) each weaved it into their verses once. In the Middle Ages, Flodoard of Reims (894-966) stands out for using *sceptriber* four times (more than any other author) in his epic poem *De triumphis Christi*. What is striking is that *sceptriber*, though not as rare as *celeranter*, had a 'promoter' in Flodoard living and writing in tenth-century northern

³⁵ A much closer study of Florus', Ado's, and Usuard's martyrologies than has been possible here is required in order to establish firmly the date of the emergence of their cult. The fact that Ado enlarged Florus' martyrology and that there are various recensions of both makes a conclusive answer difficult. The absence of Fuscianus and Victorius from Bede does not, of course, preclude the emergence of their cult in a local context during his lifetime (or even before).

³⁶ CLA, vol. 5, no. 644b: 'early Carolingian minuscule, .. certainly at Corbie soon after it was written, as suggested by the entries in Maurdramnus minuscule'. I have not been able to verify whether *tarinca* occurs in this account, although the notes to BHL 7000 in the AASS suggest that it is included in at least one of the accounts of Fuscianus and Victorius.

³⁷ Stotz, *Handbuch zur Lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* vol. 2 (2000), sec. 142.1-2, p. 434: 'manche unter den Bildungen auf -fer haben ausgesprochen dichterisches Gepräge, etwa spätantikes *olorifer* und mittelalterliches *cycnifer*. .. Insgesamt dürten sie weit öfter in Dichtung als in Prosa vorkommen, und einige von ihnen allein in ihr.' This is true of Classical Latin also. The AASS database does not result in any hits for *sceptriber*.

France. The locality as well as the subject matter of the poem make him the most likely influence on the author of the *Vulgate*.

*Stupefactus rethor et cuncti oratores quid contrahiscerent*³⁸ *nesciebant* (Dob. 504)

The verb *contrahiscere* can be regarded as a medieval closing up of *contra* and *hiscere*.³⁹ It appears as *contra hiscere* in a small number of later medieval authors; the only one among them to have lived before 1000 is Remigius of Auxerre (fl. c. 908).⁴⁰ In his commentary on Psalm 139 he writes: '*auctoritas apostolorum caeterorumque doctorum magno quodam pondere opprimet eos, ut non habeant quod contra hiscant*'.⁴¹ Although Auxerre lies to the south-east of Paris, it had ties with Reims to the north, particularly during the Carolingian era. One of the famous four teachers of the school at the abbey of St Germain in Auxerre, Remi of Auxerre, was called to Reims in 893 by bishop Fulco.⁴²

iam pestiferum subversionis venenum familiaris domui mee inserpere videam (Dob. 992)

The verb *inserpere* was used by Statius, Apuleius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Claudian but not by the mainstream classical authors. Two popes made use of it in their decretals, although Symmachus (d. 514) inherited the verb within its phrase from Innocent I (d. 417).⁴³ Gregory the Great employed it in his *Moralia in Job*.⁴⁴ Much more intriguing however is its inclusion in what is known today as the 'Ps.-Isidorian Decretals', a collection of forged canons probably put together under the name of 'Isidore Mercator' (in the text) in the second half of the ninth century in north-eastern

³⁸ Only a small number of manuscripts differ from the reading *contrahiscerent*: A changes *contra hiscerent* to *contra dicerent*, while J reads *contra his dicerent*, D offers *contra hec dicerent*, and E gives *contradicerent*.

³⁹ Stotz, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, sec. 165.7, p. 464: 'Zusammenrückungen mit *contra*'. The TLL does not include *contrahiscere*, although it contains the lemma *hiscere*. The only composites it cites are *dehisco* and *inhisco*. The PL and CETEDOC indicate post-1000 authors only.

⁴⁰ The exception is Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio* 2.3: *his igitur si pro se tecum fortuna loqueretur, quid profecto contra hiscere non haberes*. The databases show up Alpertus of Metz (11th cent.), Humbert of Silva Candida (11th cent.), and Rupert of Deutz (12th cent.).

⁴¹ PL 131, col. 812B.

⁴² On the school see *L' école carolingienne d'Auxerre: de Murethach à Remie, 830-908*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat et al. (1991).

⁴³ *Sanandum ergo celerius, ne longius exsecrandus animis morbus inserpat*, col. 726B, PL 130.

⁴⁴ Bk 9, par. LV, l. 9: *et devicta culpa ad delectationem rursus inserpere nititur*.

France by opponents of Hincmar of Reims.⁴⁵ According to medieval catalogues, they were available at Mont St Michel (cat. s. xi-xii) and Jumièges (cat. s. xii).⁴⁶

ne et ceteri Christiani aduersus deos simili insultatione barbarizare presumant (Dob. 890)

Barbarizare appears to be ordinary enough and is very obviously a Greek loan-word.⁴⁷ Having said that, the databases do not reveal it to have been used more than a handful of times.⁴⁸ It was employed by Boethius, Agobard of Lyon (d. 840) and Anastasius Bibliothecarius. More significantly, it occurs once in a pre-1100 hagiographic text we have already met above: the miracles of Dado (BHL 0760):

*Eluctatur econtra ille responsum edere; sed nondum aliquod, quod foret intelligibile, praesertim cum Romanam linguam barbarizando potius quam formando balbutiret.*⁴⁹

Usque adeo deos nostros tam contemptibiliter ad ista malefica incantatrice derogari patiemur (Dob. 888)

Last but not least, *incantatrix* is not a classical word. It gained currency post-1000, although Pope Leo VII, and particularly Hincmar of Reims made use of it.⁵⁰ The latter was vociferous in condemning Lothar II's divorce of his wife Theutberga (in favour of Waldrada), but while we might have expected him to describe Waldrada as an *incantatrix*, Hincmar makes a more general claim and takes inspiration from Leo VII.⁵¹

⁴⁵ ODCC, s.v. False Decretals. At least two authors from Spain, Eulogius of Toledo and Taio of Zaragoza, also used it. For usage by English authors s.v. *inserpere* in the MLD.

⁴⁶ Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 216.

⁴⁷ Stotz, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, sec. 15.6, p. 39: 'Im mittelalterlichen Gebrauch bezeichnen *barbara lingua*, *barbarice* u.ä. die nicht-lat. Sprache, *barbarizare* und *barbarismus* die nicht korrekt-lat. Ausdrucksweise.' This is true of Classical Latin also.

⁴⁸ PL = 5 hits, and CETEDOC = 5 hits, with overlaps.

⁴⁹ AASS Aug. 4, Day 24, p. 828E.

⁵⁰ In his letter to the *Gallos et Germanos*, Leo writes: 'de auguratoribus, et incantatricibus, et maleficis vario modo mortificatis a populo, si aliqua poenitentia debeat exigi.' PL 132, col. 1086A.

⁵¹ although he refers to a different letter; PL 125, col. 726C: 'de eo siquidem quod interrogatum est, ut si forte tales viri malefici, vel incantatrices feminae inventae fuerint, quid de huiusmodi fieri debeat, sanctus Leo scribens ad episcopos per universas provincias demonstrat.'

To sum up, both *celeranter* and *tarinca* point towards northern France as a place where they were favoured, *celeranter* because, in all likelihood, Nonius was the initial disseminator and *tarinca* because it was a vernacular word particular to that region. *Sceptrifer* and *contra hiscere* betray perhaps a hint of northern France, although this is much less palpable.

1.5 Echoes of particular authors

Biblical echoes and citations

As is to be expected, there are a great number of Biblical quotations and echoes in the *Vulgate*. Most of these were identified by Knust.⁵² All of the direct quotations are taken from the Vulgate translation of the Bible and with no predilection for any one book or section.

One particular quotation makes superfluous an emendation by Dobson (Dob. 864) which he felt was needed, even though the manuscripts were in agreement on the reading.⁵³ In a reply to Maxentius, Katherine says: *vivere sane opto, sed ut michi vivere Christus sit*. This is a direct quotation from Paul's letter to the inhabitants of Philippi in northern Greece.⁵⁴

Classical

In medieval writing, Vergil was widely known, more than any other classical author. This was partly due in part to his inclusion in the curriculum of schools, which then resulted in a vibrant exegesis. It is therefore not surprising to find snippets of the *Aeneid* dotted around the *Vulgate*. I have gathered the following quotations, although a more thorough reading will probably increase the number of allusions:

⁵² Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden*, p. 231-314.

⁵³ Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 292.

⁵⁴ Phil. 1.21.

Ad hec tyrannus dolos in pectore versans, ne a circumstantibus tamquam iniquus et implacabilis accusaretur, ait puelle (Dob. 853).

The tyrant Maxentius is likened to Mercury's description of Dido at *Aen.* 4.563 (*illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat*).⁵⁵

puella .. in qua .. non animalis homo loquitur sed divinus quidam spiritus, qui sane haud mortale sonans (Dob. 521)

This description of Katherine is reminiscent of Vergil's description of the Cumaean Sibyl (*Aen.* 6.50 *nec mortale sonans*).⁵⁶ The *Vulgate* is not the only hagiographical text to echo this line of Vergil: in the Life of St Gaugericus, bishop of Cambrai (d. c. 625), the saint is described in the same way.⁵⁷

Audiens regina ferale coniugis edictum, licet gentili errore teneretur, tamen animi ingenta bonitate tenere etatis sortem miseratur iniquam (Dob. 682)

This is perhaps the strongest of the three Vergil-echoes listed here: the Laurentines and Latins are taking pity on Turnus at Vergil *Aen.* 12.243 *infectum et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam*. Again, this line-ending is echoed in the metric Life of St Germanus, bishop of Auxerre (d. c. 448).⁵⁸

The fact that bits of Vergil crop up in the *Vulgate* does not necessarily imply that the *Vulgate*-author had read the *Aeneid* or used a text of it for his composition. It is equally possible that the above quotations are part of the cultural fabric of the time, as is clear from the parallels in the lives of St Gaugericus and St Germanus. In the same way, a modern person might know the poem *Jerusalem* ('and did those feet'), without having read or being aware of William Blake's poem 'Milton' – *Jerusalem* is an excerpt from its preface.

⁵⁵ Narbey, *Supplément*, p. 319.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 319.

⁵⁷ BHL 3287. AASS Aug. II, Dies 11, p. 673A: *sed vir Domini Gaugericus .. nec mortale sonans, coepit verbum Dei leproso praedicare.*

⁵⁸ BHL 3458. AASS Jul. VII, Dies. 31, p. 234C: *praesul Iugentis sortem miseratus iniquiam / posse reformari spondet dispendia fisci.*

Medieval

Vergil aside, there are a great number of allusions to medieval authors present in the *Vulgate*. I offer here a selection of those that allow further insight into the *Vulgate*-author's past reading or what might be called his 'cultural identity'. From the great number of allusions to medieval authors I present here a selection of those that allow further insight into the *Vulgate*-author's past reading or what might be called his cultural identity.

Eugenius of Toledo

Ipse est Deus et dominator omnium saeculorum, in cuius potestate constat universalis machina mundi (Dob. 814)

Although the expression *machina mundi* was first coined by Lucretius,⁵⁹ who was known in northern France and the Low Countries from the end of the eighth century onwards, it seems unlikely that the *Vulgate*-author drew inspiration from this quarter.⁶⁰ Rather, the combination of *machina mundi* with *constat* as it occurs in Eugenius of Toledo's prayer, suggests an influence through the liturgical use of the latter:

rex deus, immensi quo constat machina mundi, / quod miser Eugenius
posco, tu perfice clemens.⁶¹

This prayer became part of the liturgy and was quoted by Alcuin and Bede.

⁵⁹ DRN 5.91: *sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*.

⁶⁰ The abbey of Lobbes had acquired a text of DRN in the first half of the 12th cent, see F. Dolbeau, 'Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits', esp. no. 34 & p. 233. See also 'Lucretius' in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, p. 220.

⁶¹ Chevalier, 17442a. It is not entirely clear whether the Eugenius in question was the second or the third; in any case, he was bishop of Toledo in the middle of the 7th cent.; s.v. 4. Eugenius II, LMA; see the preface to Eugenius' Life in PL 87, col. 347-48. The full prayer, and a number of Eugenius' shorter poems are in the same volume, col. 359B ff.

‘Sacro fontis utero’

cur non properamus, ante vitae exitum, ipsius signaculo et sacro fontis utero innovari? (Dob. 542)

Dobson found the combination *sacro fontis utero* difficult⁶² although the manuscripts concur on this reading, with the exception of a couple of witnesses, which offer *lavacro* instead of *utero*, perhaps because the meaning of *utero* in this sense appeared strange to them and, more likely, because *lavacro* was repeated in the following sentence. The alternative of *sacro fontis lutero* evoked by Dobson seems unlikely – as he points out – since *lutero* would be a *lectio difficilior* over *utero*, so that *lavacro* could be seen as a gloss for *lutero*, with *utero* as an emendation.

It is certainly true that the more usual agreement is between *sacer* and *fons* in apposition to *uterus*. However, the available databases come up with at least a couple of instances of a combination of the three words. Ruricius of Limoges (d. c. 507) employs the combination in a letter to his friend Julianus Pomerius:

Et ideo iuxta eum apostolum, quoniam ‘omnes in Christo unum’ sumus, fratres rectissime nuncupamur, quia nos et unus uterus sacri fontis effudit et eadem ubera matris ecclesiae spiritu vivificante lactarunt.⁶³

Most of Ruricius’ 82 letters were written while he was a bishop of Limoges – they have survived in a sole manuscript from the ninth century.⁶⁴ This manuscript also contains the correspondence of other Gallic personages with whom Ruricius was associated, such as Faustus of Riez and Desiderius of Cahors.⁶⁵ Even closer to the *Vulgate*-combination is

⁶² Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 290, remarked: ‘*Utero*, obviously the reading of the archetype, must be used in a metaphorical sense with transference to an inanimate object: “to be made new by his sign and by the sacred womb of the font”. This seems more likely than that it is an early corruption of *lutere*, ablative of *luter* ‘handbasin’, a hellenism used by Jerome.’

⁶³ Ruricius II.11 (l. 58). This letter was written c. 490/502 to Julianus Pomerius, a priest of Arles, former rhetor and a North African. He had written a *De Vita Contemplativa*. See R.W. Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: a collection of letters from Visigothic Gaul* (1999), p. 38. For the text see Krusch, *Gaui Solii Apollinaris Sidonii Epistulae et Carmina* (1887).

⁶⁴ St Gallen 190, late eighth/early ninth century, Caroline minuscule, south-eastern Germany, see Mathisen, *Ruricius and Friends*, p. 63.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the ‘formation’ of the collection in the St Gall ms see Mathisen, *Ruricius and Friends*, p. 71-76.

sacri fontis utero, attested in a letter to Charlemagne by Paulinus Aquileia in which he reports to him about a Synod that took place in 803 in Altino.

Non igitur dedignetur benignitatis vestrae excellentia sollicitudinis erga eam pro hoc negotio vigilanter gerere curam, rememorantes per omnia sacri fontis utero de quo multo longe felicius estis renati, fideique lactis dulcedine enutriti quam prius materna bene quamvis vulva generati, carnalibus estis uberibus ablactati. (PL 99, vol. 515A)

Paulinus was Charlemagne's *artis grammaticae magister*, and his *Carmen de regula fidei* and *Contra Felicem* circulated in eleventh-century Normandy.⁶⁶ The phrase also recurs in a number of capitularies issued by Charlemagne.

Sermons

The sermons of church fathers and other influential ecclesiastical figures were put together as models and inspiration for use in readings by bishops and priests. A couple of echoes suggest that the *Vulgate*-author had at his disposal the whole or at least part of the collection known as that of Eusebius 'Gallicanus' and also that of Petrus Chrysologus.

Eusebius Gallicanus

sed est speciosa victoria adversarium telis suis, velut propriis laqueis, irretire et auctorum suorum testimoniis confutare, quia quorum fidem aspernaris, eorum testimonia non recipis. (Dob. 474).

With these words Katherine concludes her remarks about what the Sibyl and Plato have to say about Christ.⁶⁷ This is based on the opening remarks of a sermon delivered at Easter from the collection of Eusebius 'Gallicanus', which acquired its present shape in the seventh century.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Vat. reg. 192, s. ix, prov. St Ouen, Rouen, contains both texts. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 224.

⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that the *Vulgate*-author did not make reference to the oft-cited line from Vergil's ('Messianic') Eclogue IV.7: *iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*.

⁶⁸ The process by which this collection was formed is very complicated – what is generally agreed on today is that it includes sermons by people such as Augustine and Hilarius of Arles, that it was used by Caesarius of Arles (the main representative of Gallic monasticism) and then Faustus

Homilia II De Pascha:

Beneficia dei nostri cum magna atque mirifica sint, tamen nec noua probantur esse nec subita, sed ab initio saeculi et praedicta sunt oraculis et praefigurata mysteriis. Sacram domini passionem ab ipsis mundi coalescentis exordiis, ueteris testamenti responsa cecinerunt, et ideo christum dominum praedicatum atque annuntiatum suis aperte ex ipsorum libris ac uoluminibus asserimus. Validis absque dubio nititur priuilegiis, qui causam de aduersariis asserit instrumentis. Speciosa uictoria est, contrariam partem chartulis suis uelut propriis laqueis irretire et testimoniorum suorum uocibus confutare et aemulum telis suis euincere, ut pugnatoris tui argumenta tuis probentur utilitatibus militare.⁶⁹

Sermon 13 belongs to the group of sermons (1-35) which form the beginning of the collection and have been arranged according to the order of the ecclesiastical year. This particular sermon has been transmitted in eleven manuscripts, including ninth/tenth-century witnesses from places such as Fleury, Angers, St Bertin, and Marchiennes in northern France.⁷⁰

Petrus Chrysologus

As the philosophers describe to the emperor Katherine's effect on them, their language is distinctly reminiscent of lyric poetry, and they use phrases that might describe the effect the sight of the beloved has on the one in love:

Nam ut Christi nomen et diuinitatis eius potentiam simulque crucis ipsius mysterium predicari ab ea audiuimus, confusa sunt viscera, corda nostra tremuerunt, et omnes corporis sensus stupendo aufugerunt. (Dob. 525)

of Riez, and that it was put into the shape we know today by one Eusebius (from Gaul?) in the seventh century. Out of the sixty manuscripts that preserve parts of the collection, one ninth-century manuscript preserves almost the whole (except for sermons 1-16) – it was perhaps written at the abbey of Longpont in northern France: Bruxelles BR 1651-52 (1316), s. ixth. A further four manuscripts fill this gap and in turn preserve large parts of the collection: Paris BN lat. 2628, s. xi; Paris BN lat. 2169, s. xii-xiii; Vaticano, BAV Vat. lat. 9882, s. ix-x; Genève, Bib. Pub & Univ., 24, s. xii, Fleury? For a list and discussion of all the manuscripts see, *Eusebius 'Gallicanus' Collectio Homiliarum*, ed. Fr. Glorie (1970), vol. 1, p. xviii-xxxvii

⁶⁹ *Eusebius 'Gallicanus'*, ed. Glorie, vol. 1, p. 155.

⁷⁰ Vaticano BAV, Reg. lat. 131, s. ix (ca. 820-30); Genève, Bib. Pub & Uni 24, s. xii, prov. Fleury?; Berlin SBPK, Theol. fol. 270, s. xii, prov. Maria Laach; Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbib Perg. XV, s. ix, prov. Reichenau; Troyes 154, s. ix; Angers 144, s. x, prov. St Aubin; Paris lat. 2811, s. xiith; Boulogne-sur-mer, s. x/xi, prov. Saint Bertin; Douai 201, s. xii, prov. Marchiennes, Saint-Sauveur d'Anchin; Paris lat. 2169, s. xii-xiii.

The *Vulgate*-author in this instance did not rely on Sappho herself, or any of the later imitations and adaptations of her poetry. Rather, the Sermon-collection by Petrus Chrysologus (the ‘golden-tongued’) was his inspiration, in particular the beginning of sermon 127.1:

De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae:
hodie nobis Iohannis virtus, herodis feritas dum refertur, concussa sunt viscera, corda tremuerunt, caligavit visus, intellectus hebuit, aufugit auditus.
Aut quid constat in sensibus humanis, quando perdit virtutum magnitudinem criminum magnitudo?⁷¹

The tradition of this collection of sermons is complex: in 724 Felix, archbishop of Ravenna, compiled Peter’s sermons on the basis of an already existing collection. Felix also added a prologue and a list of contents. None of the manuscripts that preserve the ‘collectio Feliciana’ was written before the eleventh century, and within this tradition there is a German and a Fench branch. The manuscripts that preserve sermon 127 reveal a diffusion in Italy, France and Germany.⁷² Two of these manuscripts come from Northern France (Cambrai 543 and Paris lat. 2145).

Note that the *Vulgate* follows four manuscripts in the reading of *confusa* for *concussa*, although this allows no further insight because at least two of them come from Italy.⁷³

⁷¹ Beginning of the sermon. Ed. by Olivar, *Sancti petri Chrysologi Collectio Sermonum* (1975-82). See also sermon 143 (l. 67): *turbata est caro, concussa sunt visera, mens tremuit, tota cordis obstupuit altitudo, quia ingresso angelo virgo sensit divinitatis ingressum.*

⁷² Tours BM 308, 1186, prov. Marmoutier; Cambrai BM 543, s. xii^{2/3}, prov. Vaucelles; Paris lat. 16867, s. xii^{ex} (? xiiiⁱⁿ), prov. St Martin des Champs; Vaticano BAV Vat. lat. 4952, s. xi, prov. Ravenna; Bruxelles BR 683 vol. ii, s. xv; Todi Bibl. Com. 107, s. xiii, prov. Italy; Oxford Balliol 163, s. xiiiⁱⁿ; München BSB Clm 23621, s. xiv, prov. Italy; Roma Vallicell. B.20, s. xii, prov. Toscana; Vienna ÖNB 3759, s. xv, prov. Germany; Paris lat. 2145, s. xiii, prov. St Martin, Tournai?; Florence Laur. Sanctae Crucis plut. XXX sin. 2, s. xii. See Olivar, *Sancti petri Chrysologi Collectio Sermonum*, vol. 3, p. 780-2. For a description of the manuscripts see vol. 1, p. ix-xlvi.

⁷³ J = Todi Bibl. Com. 107. O = Oxford Balliol 163. Clm – München Clm 23621. Chry = Secundus tomus operum divi Iohannis Chrystomi, Basileae, apud Froben, MDLVIII, col. 1190-1192.

Augustine

Echoes and allusions to Augustine in any medieval text are hardly surprising, but there are a number of these in the *Vulgate* that are particularly significant, both in terms of content and in terms of determining the author's own personal interests.

Exposition of Psalm 113

Deus autem noster in caelo omnia quaecumque voluit fecit, simulacra gentium argentum et aurum opera manuum hominum, os habent et non loquentur, oculos habent et non videbunt, aures habent et non audient, nares habent et non odorabuntur, manus habent et non palpabunt, pedes habent et non ambulabunt, non clamabunt in gutture suo, similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea et omnes qui confidunt in eis. (Ps. 113,11-16)

In her indignant refusal of a personal cult as offered to her by Maxentius, Katherine asks what difference it makes whether her statue looks like a woman or an ape if it does not have any sensory abilities:

Quae erit illa insignis materia – alens, vivificans, atque discernens – ex qua oculi ad videndum, aures ad audiendum, os lingua[que]⁷⁴ ad loquendum, et cetera quaeque informentur, quae sensu vigentia salutationes hominum audiant, videant, et intelligant? Nam si haec ista defuerint, quid refert michi feminei vultus decorem dari an simiae turpem imaginem aptari? (Dob. 596)

Further on in this same speech Katherine imagines how this proposed statue of herself will be defiled by passing birds, boys or dogs:

Sed aves caeli haudquaquam istud verebuntur, dum milvus et corvus, undecumque avolantes,⁷⁵ sedem in me sibi usurpabunt et immunda digesti cadaveris proluvie faciem meam innotabunt. Quid interim pueri facturi sunt, qui, divinum causae mysterium venerari nescientes, huc simul egesturi convenient? Aut quid canes commincturos ego commemorem? (Dob. 607)

The combination of elements reminiscent of Psalm 113 with the mention of an ape and birds defiling a statue is modelled on Augustine's exposition of this same psalm:

Namque, cum superius dixisset: "os habent et non loquentur", quid opus erat, postquam a capite usque ad pedes membra decursa sunt, de faucium

⁷⁴ Dobson emends *os lingua* to *os linguae[que]*. The majority of manuscripts he edited agree on the reading without a connective (DFNS), only four read *os et lingua*.

⁷⁵ *Undecumque avolantes* must mean 'to fly away from whatever direction' in the sense of 'flying away from many places towards one'. Four manuscripts (DONS) offer *advolantes* which is clearer.

clamore repetere, nisi, credo, quia illa quae de ceteris membris commemorabat, communia esse hominibus bellisque sentimus? Nam et vident, et audiunt, et olfaciunt, et cumulabant, et quaedam, sicut simiae, manibus contrectant. (Sermon II.2.10-17)

And again:

Quanto ergo melius mures atque serpentes, et id genus animantium cetera, de simulacris gentium si ita dicendum est, quodammodo indicant, in quibus quia non sentiunt humanam vitam, non curant humanam figuram? Itaque in eius plerumque nidificant, et nisi humanis motibus deterreantur, nulla sibi habitacula munitiora conquirunt. Movet ergo se homo, ut viventem bestiam a suo deo deterreat; et illum non se moventem, quasi potentem colit, a quo meliorem deterruit. (Sermon II.2.39-47).⁷⁶

Augustine argues that to worship manmade statues is absurd because they lack all the sensory qualities of their maker, who is superior to them. This is Katherine's main point of argument against Maxentius. She has already explicitly referred to this psalm in one of her previous speeches to him, and it thus reveals itself as programmatic.⁷⁷ The *Vulgate*-author is not the only hagiographer who made use of Psalm 113. A search on the AASS database reveals that there are a further 37 saints' lives that refer to it in some way or other, so that it can be counted among the tools of the trade. Since Augustine's *Enarrationes* survives in over 360 witnesses it would be a futile exercise to try to link the *Vulgate* with a particular group of manuscripts from within that tradition.

Hagiographical

As has been noted before, hagiography is a highly topical genre where imitation of and allusion to early and authoritative lives, such as Athanasios' Life of Antony or Sulpicius Severus' Life of St Martin is de rigueur.⁷⁸ Accordingly, the *Vulgate* is full of episodic and

⁷⁶ Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers & I. Fraipont (1956), Psalm 113 – Sermon II.2. In his *Enarratio* of Psalm 96 (*Sermo ad populum* 19.31), Augustine again makes reference to a monkey: *aut si quis simiam miraretur, diceret: non est ista pulchritudo*.

⁷⁷ Dob. 240ff.

⁷⁸ More generally: 'der Einfluß der 'Vita Antonii' im Osten wie im Westen ist kaum zu überschätzen. Ihre Lektüre hat nicht nur Persönlichkeiten des weltlichen Lebens zum Übertritt ins Mönchtum motiviert, das Werk inspirierte auch Hieronymus zu seinen Viten der heiligen Paulus von Theben und Hilarion von Gaza', s.v. Mönch B., LMA. C. White's *Early Christian Lives*

literal allusions to earlier hagiographical accounts, a list of which would be too long to present here. But perhaps one small point can be considered:

After the destruction of the wheels at the hands of God's angel, and following the Queen's challenge to Maxentius, the pagans who were not killed by bits of flying wood exclaim:

'vere, magnus est deus Christianorum, cuius nos servos ab hodierno die constanter profitemur, nam dii tui idola vana sunt, quae nec sibi nec cultoribus suis aliquid praestare possunt.' (Dob. 982-84).

Here the *Vulgate*-author seems to be echoing the report of the prison-guards to Rictiovarius, following Quintinus' disappearance from his cell: '*vere magnus est Deus Christianorum, in quem credere oportet, quem per famulum Quintinum cognovimus*'.⁷⁹ Quintinus is no stranger – his Life is one of only two (the *Vulgate* excepted) which employ the rare word *tarinca*. I wonder whether this parallel could not be an explanation, over and above the vernacular colouring of the word, for the presence of *tarinca* in the *Vulgate*.

Testimonia⁸⁰

The use of passages from the *Vulgate* by later hagiographers is particularly useful for determining a *terminus ante quem*. The passage describing Katherine's familial and monetary situation has been incorporated into the Life of the (Belgian) widow Amalberga [BHL 321].⁸¹ Compare the two:

(1998) brings together in translation the 'revolutionary' lives written by Athanasius, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus and Gregory the Great

⁷⁹ AASS 1. Oct. XIII, dies 31, p. 782A.

⁸⁰ See for example de Gaiffier, 'Les "Doublets" en hagiographie Latine', AB 96 (1978), 262-69.

⁸¹ This is a very short life, just a little more than one page of the AASS. The widow Amalberga is not to be confused with the virgin Amalberga [BHL 322-325d]. The question of whether Goscelin of St Bertin was the author of BHL 323 has recently been taken up again by Rosalind Love, *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: the hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely* (2004), p. lxxvii. See also Albert Poncelet, 'Les Biographes de Ste Amalberge', AB 31 (1912), 401-09.

<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 71-84)	<i>Life of Amalberga</i> ⁸²
Hac in urbe Alexandrinorum erat quaedam puella, annorum duo de viginti, speciosa valde sed quod pluris est religiosa fide, quae regis quondam filia unica, patre iam defuncto filiae nomen amiserat, nomine Katerina. Haec, <u>parentum orbata solatio, tenera licet aetate familiam quae successione hereditaria sibi inhaeserat pervigili cura gubernabat, non quia servorum aut ancillarum numerosa turba, quod inter prima mortales putant, delectabatur, sed quia non sine crimine esse putabat si paternum censum avide retinens, fame et inedia quemlibet eorum perire pateretur, quippe quae nichil cum mundo habere commune decreverat. .. Non ipsa puellares iocos, non amatoria carmina, videre aut audire volebat, divinis tantummodo, et his attentius, scripturis insistebat.</u>	Beata Amalberga illustrissimis exorta natalibus, sed moribus elegantioribus adornata, Sanctas oppidum excoluit: cuius ductrix et Domina usque ad assumptam religionis beatitudinem iure hereditario extitit. <u>Quae parentum orbata solatio, tenera licet aetate, familiam, quae successione hereditaria sibi inhaeserat, pervigili cura, suaviterque tractabat, non quia servorum aut ancillarum numerosa turba, quod inter mortales primum putatur, delectaretur, sed quia iniustum esse putabat, si paternum censum avide retinens, fame et inedia quemlibet eorum pateretur perire. Non ipsa puellares iocos, non amatoria carmina, non ludicra quaelibet, ac frivola audire, vel videre curabat, sed quasi Maria secus pedus Domini residens, quos actura fuerat, actu et habitu praemonstrabat.</u>

This Life was written by a monk at Lobbes sometime before the end of the eleventh century – van der Essen suggested a date after the third quarter of the eleventh century (i.e. 1075 onwards). The monk in question also used a number of passages from the Life of Rainelde for its composition.⁸³ Accordingly, the *Vulgate* must have been at Lobbes while Amalberga’s Life was being written. Evidence for this is in a catalogue which records the books at Lobbes library from c. 1049 until c. 1158-60: it includes a legendary

⁸² AASS Jul. III 10-14, Dies 10, p. 69C.

⁸³ L. van der Essen, in his ‘Étude critique et littéraire sur les *Vitae* des saints mérovingiens de l’Ancienne Belgique’, (1907), p. 301-02 was the first to point this out. He suggested that Amalberga’s Life was to be dated after the third quarter of the eleventh century because that of Rainelde had been written before that. According to the *Hagiographies* Database at Namur University, Amalberga’s Life was written between 1051 and 1100 and that of Rainelde between c. 1015 and 1035 (http://www.fundp.ac.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h2222.htm). See also François de Vriendt, ‘La vie de sainte Renelde, martyre à Saintes (BHL 7082), in ‘*Scribere Sanctorum Gesta*’: *recueil d’études d’hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. Étienne Renard et al. (2005), p. 399-415, esp. p. 409.

that contains both the Passion of Katherine and that of Rainelde, but not that of Amalberga.⁸⁴

The incorporation of the *Vulgate* into Amalberga’s Life furnishes the former, for the first time, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1075 to 1100. This implies not only that the *Vulgate* was known at Lobbes by the end of the eleventh century, but also that it had gained sufficient momentum to a) make the passage to Lobbes and b) to be deemed important enough to act as a source for another hagiographical text. However, it is impossible to determine at which point in the eleventh century the *Vulgate* had been completed, although the earliest manuscripts can help to shed light on the question (see chapter 4).⁸⁵

The *Vulgate* was laid to use at least once more, this time in the Life of St Vincentius of Collioure [BHL 8656].⁸⁶ The passage that describes the death of the philosophers was used to portray the death of Vincentius. I have underlined the parallels with the *Vulgate*:

<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 535-57)	<i>Life of St Vincentius</i> ⁸⁷
<u>Audiens haec tyrannus praecipitibus furiis agitatus, accenso in medio civitatis vehementissimo igne, iussit omnes, ligatis manibus et pedibus, poenalibus incendiis cruciari.</u> [<i>Philosophers ask to be baptized</i>]. His dictis, adsunt ministri, et ex iussu imperatoris, ligatis manibus et pedibus, <u>sanctos Dei martyres mediis flammis ingerunt; et sic, inter aestuantis</u>	<u>Audiens haec Dacianus, praecipitibus furiis agitatus, accenso in medio civitatis copioso⁸⁸ igne, iussit S. Vincentium, ligatis manibus et pedibus, poenalibus incendiis cruciari.</u> Tum <u>ministri sancti Martyrem mediis flammis ingerunt: qui inter aestuantis</u>

⁸⁴ This manuscript is now Bruxelles BR 18018, s. xi^{ex}. F. Dolbeau, ‘Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes au xi^e et xii^e siècles’, *Recherches Augustiniennes* 13 (1978), 3-36, esp. 29; 14 (1979), 191-248. See also the discussion in chapter 4.

⁸⁵ A sobering reminder of how fast texts could travel is Benedict Biscop, who lugged books back from Rome to Northumbria during several visits to Rome. See Bede’s *Historia Abbatum*, ch. 4: *de Britannia Romam iter arripiens solita prosperitate conplevit librosque omnis divinae eruditionis non paucos vel placito praetio emptos, vel amicorum dono largitos retulit*’; and ch. 6: *innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam adportavit*. *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer, vol. 1.364-87. (1896). See also Eric Fletcher, ‘Benedict Biscop’, *Jarrow Lecture* 1981, p. 7 & 9-10.

⁸⁶ Martyred in the south-eastern corner of the French Pyrenees

⁸⁷ AASS April II, dies 19, p. 621F-622A.

⁸⁸ *copioso* is an alternative for *vehementissimo*, already present in some manuscripts of the ‘shorter Vulgate’ [BHL 1663a], see Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 172, l. 536.

<p>flammas <u>incendii</u> <u>Dominum</u> <u>confitentes</u>, <u>felici</u> <u>martyrio</u> <u>coronati</u> ad <u>Dominum</u> <u>migraverunt</u> <u>tertio</u> <u>decimo</u> <u>die</u> <u>mensis</u> <u>Novembris</u>. <u>In</u> <u>quibus</u> <u>illud</u> <u>comparuit</u> <u>insigne</u> <u>miraculum</u>, <u>ut</u> <u>indumenta</u> <u>eorum</u> <u>aut</u> <u>capilli</u> <u>capitum</u> <u>eorum</u> <u>nullam</u> <u>ab</u> <u>igne</u> <u>laesionem</u> <u>sustinerent</u>; <u>vultus</u> <u>autem</u> <u>illorum</u> <u>rosei</u> <u>coloris</u> <u>decore</u> <u>emicabant</u>, <u>ut</u> <u>dormientes</u> <u>potius</u> <u>quam</u> <u>extinctos</u> <u>putares</u>, <u>unde</u> <u>multi</u>, <u>conversi</u> <u>ad</u> <u>Deum</u>, <u>crediderunt</u>. <u>Horum</u> <u>corpora</u> <u>Christiani</u> <u>noctu</u> <u>rapientes</u> <u>sepelierunt</u>.</p>	<p>pyrae <u>incendia</u>, <u>Dominum</u> <u>confitens</u>, <u>felici</u> <u>martyrio</u> <u>coronatur</u> <u>XIII</u> <u>Kalend.</u> <u>Maii</u>, <u>Anno</u> <u>Domini</u> <u>CCCI</u>. <u>In</u> <u>quo</u> <u>illud</u> <u>apparet</u> <u>solenne</u> <u>miraculum</u>, <u>quod</u> <u>ligamina</u> <u>manuum</u> <u>et</u> <u>pedum</u>, <u>nec</u> <u>non</u> <u>capilli</u> <u>capitis</u> <u>eius</u>, <u>nullam</u> <u>ab</u> <u>igne</u> <u>laesionem</u> <u>sustinerent</u>. <u>Vultus</u> <u>autem</u> <u>illius</u> <u>rosei</u> <u>coloris</u> <u>decore</u> <u>micabat</u>, <u>ita</u> <u>ut</u> <u>potius</u> <u>dormiens</u>, <u>quam</u> <u>extinctus</u> <u>putaretur</u>, <u>unde</u> <u>multi</u> <u>ad</u> <u>Deum</u> <u>conversi</u> <u>crediderunt</u>. <u>Eius</u> <u>corpus</u> <u>Christiani</u> <u>noctu</u> <u>rapientes</u> <u>sepelierunt</u>, <u>quod</u> <u>postmodum</u> <u>honorifice</u> <u>translatum</u> <u>fuit</u>.</p>
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This Life was in written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and it has been suggested that its author was the Spaniard Tamayo de Salazar.⁸⁹

The examination of the unconscious sources in the *Vulgate* has turned up two extremely rare words – rare for different reasons – that allow us to zoom in on (ninth-century) Northern France as a likely place where the *Vulgate*-author lived or originated from. He had access to a number of sermon collections, including Augustine’s *Enarrationes*. Crucially, the Life of Amalberga provides the *Vulgate* not only with a *terminus ante quem*, but it also strengthens its localization in Northern France.

⁸⁹ B. de Gaiffier, ‘Sub Daciano preside: étude des quelques passions espagnoles’, *AB* 72 (1954), 393. The British Library preserves a copy of Tamayo de Salazar’s *Anamnesis sive Commemoratio omnium Sanctorum Hispanorum, pontificum, martyrum, confessorum* .., 6 vols (Lyon, 1651-59).

2. The prologue

A good place for discovering how the author ‘works’ is his prologue, which is the place to show off one’s rhetorical skills and explain one’s purpose for the undertaking. This lies in the nature of the prologue: by definition it precedes the main body of writing and will be the first thing a reader lays his eyes on. Here the author can bring in as much or as little of his own views on matters important to him. In hagiography this will often include programmatic statements and/or a dedication, all of which combine their strengths to form a *captatio benevolentiae*.⁹⁰

First of all, here is the prologue (and its translation) as edited by Dobson:⁹¹

[1] Incipit prologus in passionem Sancte Katerine virginis et martyris

[2] Cum sanctorum fortia gesta ad memoriam posterorum transcribimus, quid aliud agimus nisi, ut ita dicam, quoddam incentivum bellicum promovemus, per quod imbelles animos auditorum ad bella dominica accendamus? [2.b] Ut, cum pro laborum exercitiis coronoas acquisitas audierint, iam certi de spe retributionis ardentiores fiant ad tolerandas passiones, hoc sane perpendentes quia non leve aut inane constat esse premium pro quo sancti Dei corpora sua diris tormentorum suppliciis tradiderunt.

[3] Hec michi causa extitit qua gloriose virginis Katerine memorabilem certaminis agonem stili officio proposui enarrandum, ut dum infirmioris sexus constantiam et imbecille etatis virtutem attendimus, hoc nobis ad ignominiam et opprobrium iure quis

⁹⁰ ‘Dans la forme la plus courante, les auteurs y évoquent leur commanditaire, indiquent leurs sources d’information, critiquent à l’occasion leurs modèles, proclament – aux fins de *captatio benevolentiae* – leur souci de véracité et leur incompetence stylistique, demandent enfin l’inspiration de l’Esprit, l’intercession des saints, d’éventuelles correction, l’indulgence et les prières de leurs lecteurs’, François Dolbeau, ‘Les Prologues de Légendiers Latins, in *Les Prologues Médiévaux*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (2000), p. 345. Gerhard Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube in der Lateinischen Heiligenlegende: zu ihrem Selbstverständnis in den Prologen* (1970), examines hagiographic prologues in order to discover how the authors deal with their Christian beliefs and their Classical inheritance. He also identifies three topoi: ‘das Bekenntnis geistlicher Unzulänglichkeit’, ‘das Gebet der Hagiographen um göttlichen Beistand’, and ‘die indirekte Bitte um Inspiration’, p. 80-115.

⁹¹ See Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 144-45. The division into sections is my own. A trial-edition of the prologue on the basis of more than 40 manuscripts can be found in Appendix III.

esse dicat, quod puellas teneras⁹² per ignem et ferrum ad patriam celestem tendere videmus, et nos barbati homines nec per pacem Christum sequi curamus.

[4] Et forte aliquis dicat fidem catholicam, per totum orbem disseminatam, Christi nomen ubique gentium fateri; et, quia Christianitas in suis principibus iam religiosa iamque fidelis est, iam persecutionis procella detumuit, iam vincula et verbera, carceres et eculeos et cetera suppliciorum genera procul cessisse manifestum est, et ideo Christicolis iure non potest imputari si, his nostris temporibus, penalibus tormentis non probantur, quia persecutionis occasio, sedata pace, iam quievit.

[5] Huic, quisquis ille est, tale damus responsum: Virgo hec non uniformi persecutionis genere impugnabatur, cui a fronte externus hostis, a tergo incumbibat domesticus et occultus; alia enim intelligenda est persecutio, que immanior et magis noxia est et quam non materialis intorquet severitas, sed vitiorum gignit adversitas.

[6] Porro hec generosa virago, gemina oppugnantium acie circumsepta, et furentem persequentium rabiem constanter evicit et conglobatas vitiorum acies viriliter debellavit.

[7] Unde, gemino gloriosa triumpho, non inutiliter, ut spero, ad informandas mentes proponitur, que puellari corpore sic sexum vicit et seculum ut et noxia carnis oblectamenta vitaret et victoriosa passione tormentorum genera superaret. De hac igitur pro edificatione locuturi, tale sumamus exordium. Explicit prologus.

[1] Here begins the prologue to the Passion of the virgin and martyr Saint Katherine.

[2] When we record the brave deeds of the saints for the memory of future generations, what else are we doing if not issuing a rousing battle-call, so to speak, with which to inspire the unwarlike spirits of our listeners for the wars of our Lord; [2.b] so that, when they have heard about the crowns won for their efforts and toils, now confident in their hope of reward, they may become more ardent to endure sufferings, fully aware that it is clearly no slight or empty prize for which the saints of God have given over their

⁹² *puellas teneras* also appears in the prologue to the Life of Aldegunde of Maubeuge (BHL 0247), written between 801-1000 (an initial date given by the Namur database). The same prologue also has: *si fortia gesta magnorum Patrum, aut documenta propter imbecillitatem fidei suae negligenter attendit, quod male languentis animae indicium est*. AASS Jan. II, Dies 30, p. 1041. Aldegunde is said to have founded the monastery of Maubeuge during the seventh century, see LMA s.v.

bodies to the terrible pains of torture? [3] This is the reason why I have proposed to relate fully the memorable struggle and contest of the glorious virgin Katherine by the service of my pen, that – while we are paying close attention to the steadfastness of the weaker sex and the moral excellence of the delicate age – someone may deservedly say it to our disgrace and reproach, that we see young girls striving to the heavenly fatherland through fire and sword while we bearded men do not trouble to follow Christ even in peace. [4] And perhaps someone else may say that the Catholic faith, disseminated throughout the whole world, is professing the Christian faith everywhere on earth; and he might argue that, because the Christian religion is now devout and faithful amidst its princes, the storm of persecution has now subsided, and it is obvious now that the fetters and flogging devices, the imprisonments and torture racks, and the other kinds of punishments have vanished into the distance, so Christians cannot deservedly be blamed if in these our times they are not tested by penal torments because the opportunity for persecution has stopped now, with settled peace. [5] To anyone who thinks this way, here is how we answer: this virgin was not attacked by a uniform kind of persecution; from the front the external enemy was bearing down on her, from behind, the inner and hidden enemy. For a different persecution has to be understood which is more savage and of greater harm: manmade severity does not stir it, but opposition of vices produces it. [6] Furthermore, this noble heroic virgin, encircled by a double battle-line of attackers, both steadfastly overcame the raging madness of her persecutors and in a manly way vanquished the massed battle-lines of vices. [7] So, glorious by a double triumph, she is put forward – not uselessly as I hope – for the instruction of minds, since she outstripped her sex and the world with her girl's body as she both avoided the harmful delights of the flesh and, in her victorious passion, overcame various kinds of torments. Therefore, as we intend to speak about her for the purpose of edification, let us begin.

2.1 Structure of the prologue

The prologue starts off with a simile – *quid aliud agimus nisi, ut ita dicam, quoddam inventivum bellicum promovemus, per quod imbelles animos auditorum ad bella dominica accendamus* – and thus sets the tone for the rest of the prologue: the argumentative logic displayed here can almost be likened to a battle which, the author suggests, Katherine has fought already, and his listeners ought to fight now and in the future.

The troops are roused but are hesitant to follow into battle. Katherine, the forerunner and prime example, attacks her enemies who come at her from all sides. They threaten and surround her. She fights like a man and overcomes them. The triumph or payback for this achievement is her passion or suffering: the prize is not to win and *live*, but to win and die and thus come closer to God. In a transferred sense, those who take Katherine as an example are not asked literally to fight for their faith and die, but to fight for their faith against the attacks of the world. In other words, the world outside the monastery is seen as the enemy. Whoever is strong enough to renounce it and chooses to live in a monastery becomes *dead to the world*, but lives in God.⁹³

In terms of overall structure, and following the initial simile, mention of the subject – Katherine – is delayed until the second sentence. The author next puts forward the reason for his undertaking. He then imagines a quibbler who asks him why this is necessary: surely no-one can be blamed for not suffering penal tortures just because there are no more opportunities for suffering in this way. In reply to this the author says: the not-so-obvious enemies are still lurking, even though the more obvious ones (like paganism) have been subdued. Katherine is the perfect example of someone who fought both these enemies. She thus becomes an illustrative example for anyone who wants/needs to learn how to overcome the outer and inner enemies. Notable is the absence of any crusader rhetoric and so perhaps this is an indication 'ex silentio' for a

⁹³ John 14.20. Chapter 1 of Benedict's rule distinguishes four kinds of monks, and picks out as the most valiant those living under an abbot in a monastery ('De quorum omnium horum miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui. His ergo omissis, ad coenobitarum fortissimum genus disponendum, adiuvante Domino, veniamus.' Ch. 1.12-13). Chapter 4.20 of the same rule advises: 'saeculis actibus se facere alienum'.

date of composition before the end of the eleventh century. Both the schematic structure of the prologue and its allusive message can be dissected into a number of programmatic themes which are common to prologues.⁹⁴

Purpose

The author expresses the purpose of his undertaking by way of a simile, which he resolves in the phrase that follows: recounting the deeds of the saints is like raising a battle call that is going to inspire the still uncertain minds of believers to suffer pains and torments. He is going to offer his audience an example which they can emulate or from which they can learn.

Causa Scribendi

The author states his reason by signposting it with the word *causa*: young girls like Katherine are striving for heaven while people like him – *nos barbatī homines* – do not even make the effort to follow Christ when it is easy to do so. He is here referring to the idea of *militia Christi*.⁹⁵ Monks are often referred to as soldiers of Christ, which explains why words such as *bellum*, *certamen*, *lucta*, *luctamen* and *agon* are present in the prologue, as well as later on in the text where they are used with reference to Katherine's martyrdom.⁹⁶

The topic

Katherine is described in terms that seem almost incongruous. On the one hand, she is a member of the female and therefore weaker sex, with all the qualities that this would imply, but in spite of this she has two qualities that set her apart: *constantia* and *virtus*.

⁹⁴ Gertrud Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. J.', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958), 52-119; 5-6 (1959-60), 73-153.

⁹⁵ Stotz, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, sec. 10.1, p. 27: 'Auseinandersetzung mit dem Bösen in der Welt und in uns selber, die Dahingabe des leiblichen-irdischen Lebens um Christi willen oder auch der Verzicht auf weltliches Wohlleben im Sinne der Askese'.

⁹⁶ *Militare* for instance – though not used in the Vulgate – can also refer to 'living one's life', in the same way that the *miles Christi* refers to the monk (Stotz, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, sec. 10.4, p. 28).

On the other hand, she is described not only as a *virgo* but also as a *virago* who *viriliter debellavit* two enemies at once.

Anticipation of criticism and justification

The anticipation of criticism and its rebuttal are a very common feature of prologues. For the *Vulgate*-author there are two possible objections that he deals with. First of all there is the inappropriateness of taking as an example a member of the female sex. But more importantly, someone might say that the time of the great persecutions is over and that to rouse a battle-cry is untimely. The author silences the first objection by pointing out that taking a girl as an example will encourage even the last hesitating man into fighting because of the power of shame (*ad ignominiam et opprobrium*). He deals with the second objection by pointing out that while obvious attacks on the faith have subsided, the stealthy advance of the wickedness of the world and the sins of the flesh are the equivalent of the struggles undergone by the early martyrs. This might be a first, albeit vague, indication that the *Vulgate* was written for a monastic audience. This would certainly fit in well with the monastic reforms that were implemented in France and Normandy at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries.

2.2 Echoes and allusions⁹⁷

The prologue is peppered with a great number of literary echoes, that are sometimes only just hinted at. On the one hand, this heavy usage is not surprising, since we are after all in the prologue (where the author can let his muse run unrestrained); on the other hand, it can be indicative of what is to follow in the rest of the text, we must expect the author to continue to rely heavily on sources (other than allusions to biblical passages).⁹⁸ Here are a number of the kinds of parallels that can be found, divided into those that are obviously there (A) and those that are less clear (B):

⁹⁷ I owe thanks to Guy Philippart, who spent time with me in discussion of the prologue.

⁹⁸ Maurice Coens, 'Utriusque Linguae Peritus: en marge d'un prologue de Thierry de Saint-Trond', *AB* 76 (1958), 118-50; 118: 's'il est vrai que l'hagiographie médiévale, plus peut-être que tout autre genre littéraire, obéit à certaines règles, use et abuse de certains procédés, cette routine se manifeste particulièrement dans les prologues. Ceux-ci demandent à être interprétés avec

(A)

[2] *certi de spe retributionis*: Regula Benedicti VII.39 *De humilitate* = *et securi de spe retributionis divinae subsecuntur gaudentes et dicentes: sed in his omnibus superamus propter eum qui dilexit nos*. Knowledge of Benedict's rule suggests a Benedictine monk at work, who unconsciously brings in a phrase from the now universally followed Rule.

[3] *certaminis agonem*: the combination of the these two words (with the same meaning), one Latin and one Greek, is not uncommon, although it occurs exactly like this only a few times, particularly in saints' lives.⁹⁹ Rabanus Maurus also employs it once in his *De rerum naturis*, combining it with the *miles Christi* whose duty it is to fight.¹⁰⁰

The same constellation of words occurs again at the end of the *Vulgate* (Dob. 1119: *expleto certaminis mei agone*), thus establishing a framework within which events take place. This is the first internal proof for the relationship between the Prologue and the *Vulgate*: both were obviously been written by the same author.

[5] *a fronte externus hostis, a tergo incumbebat domesticus et occultus*: Flavius Iosephus sec. transl. et retract. Hegesippi 1.6.27: *a fronte externus hostis, a tergo lateribus que domesticus urguebat*.

The fourth-century AD translation and reworking of Flavius Iosephus' *Bellum Iudaicum* has survived in at least ten manuscripts, if not more. Besides an Italian and

discernement. Il faut tenir compte non seulement de l'époque et du milieu où ils furent écrits mais aussi de l'usage conventionnel de telles ou telles expressions.' And 119: 'il [commentator] ne doit jamais perdre de vue la persistance du sens classique de certaines formulations, empruntées par des clercs occidentaux, plus ou moins frottés de lettres, aux devanciers qui leur servaient de modèles.'

⁹⁹ *Certaminis agonem* also occurs in the following saints' lives, and probably in others: Speusippus, Eleusippus, Meleusippus [BHL 7829], written 614; Savinus [BHL 7447]; Faro [BHL 2826], written 672-1100; Austremonius [BHL 0845, 0846, 0847].

¹⁰⁰ 20.20: 'cursus a velocitate crucum vocatus est. Enim cursus celeritas pedum, mystice autem cursus ad transitum presentis vitae pertinet vel certaminis agonem quo milites Christi in hoc mundo laborant'.

German tradition, there are also a number of witnesses from France.¹⁰¹ Nortier noted that medieval catalogues from Normandy refer to an *Historia* by Hegesippus.¹⁰²

(B)

[2] *ad memoriam posterorum*: this occurs also in the life of Basolus (BHL 1034-35).¹⁰³

[3] *stili officio*: the first to use the expression is Boethius, and it is also used by a number of medieval authors. In hagiography it occurs in Radbod of Utrecht's (d. 917) Life of St Boniface of Mainz (BHL 1401) and Adso of Der's Life of St Bercharius (BHL 1178).

[3] *constantiam et .. virtutem*: as I have already pointed out, *constantia* is one of Katherine's principal characteristics as brought out by the adverb *constanter*. In combination with *virtutem* a parallel could be Judith 9.14: *da mihi in animo constantiam ut contemnam illum et virtutem ut evertam illum*.

[3] *ignominiam et opprobrium*: these two words in close proximity to each other occur already several times in the Old Testament, especially Proverbs 18.3: *impius cum in profundum venerit peccatorum contemnit sed sequitur eum ignominia et obprobrium*.¹⁰⁴

[4] *persecutionis procella*: in authors such as Petrus Chrysologus, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great.

[4] *forte aliquis dicat* (or *existimat, putat, credit*, etc.): this is a stock phrase.

[6] *vitiorum acies*: these battle-lines of vices were faced by others before Katherine. Eusebius Gallicanus uses the phrase, as does Jonas of Orléans (d. 843) in the Life of St Hucbert of Liège (BHL 3994).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ V. Ussani based his edition on ten manuscripts, see *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri v*, ed. V. Ussani (1932), with a preface on the mss by K. Mras (1940). They include the following from France: Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 17, s. x, prov. Micy (?) [nr Orléans]; Bern BB 180, c. 850, Fleury (?); Besançon 833, s. x-xi, Murbach.

¹⁰² *Historia* at Fécamp s. xii, Le Bec s. xii, and Lyre s. xiii, attested in medieval catalogues, Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 214. When Nortier assigned Hegesippus to the second century AD she confused him with the ecclesiastical historian Hegesippos, who wrote a 5-volume ὑπομνήματα.

¹⁰³ *Vita Sancti Basoli* (*Adso Dervensis opera hagiographica*), par. 28, line 715.

¹⁰⁴ Also Jeremiah 23.40: 'et dabo vobis in obprobrium sempiternum et in ignominiam aeternam quae numquam oblivione delebitur'.

¹⁰⁵ 'patientia inter acies vitiorum intrepida stat Gl. Prud. 17b'. See *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (1964), s.v. 'un-forht'.

[7] *gemino triumpho*: the exact same combination stands in Livy 7.11, although it would be mere conjecture to suppose the *Vulgate*-author took inspiration from the historian.¹⁰⁶ It is, however, not an impossibility: three manuscripts preserving the first decade of Livy's history are of French provenance.¹⁰⁷ Much more likely would have been the ending of the life of a pair of twin martyrs but I have not been able to find any parallels.

3. The use of conscious sources

3.1 Ambrose Autpert's 'Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum'

More explicit, or solid, use of a source can be seen in these three sentences of the prologue:

<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 15-28)	<i>Conflictus vitiorum et virtutum</i> ¹⁰⁸
[4] <u>Et quia Christianitas in suis principibus iam religiosa iamque fidelis est</u> , iam persecutionis procella detumuit, iam <u>vincula</u> et <u>verbera</u> , <u>carceres</u> et <u>eculeos</u> et cetera <u>suppliciorum genera</u> procul cecidisse manifestum est, ed ideo Christicolis iure non potest imputari si, his nostris temporibus, penalibus tormentis non probantur, quia persecutionis occasio, sedata pace, iam quievit.	Apostolica vox clamat per orbem, atque in procinctu fidei positis, ne securitate torpeant, dicit: Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Iesu persecutionem patientur. Et ecce <u>quia Christianitas in suis principibus iam religiosa, iamque fidelis est</u> , desunt pie viventibus in Christo Iesu <u>vincula</u> , <u>verbera</u> , flagra, <u>carceres</u> , <u>eculei</u> , cruces, et si qua sunt diversorum <u>genera tormentorum</u> . (ch. 1.1-6)
[5] Huic, quisquis ille est, tale damus responsum: virgo hec non uniformi persecutionis genere impugnabatur, cui a fronte externus hostis, a tergo incumbibat domesticus et occultus; <u>alia enim intelligenda est persecutio, que immanior et magis noxia est et quam non materialis intorquet severitas, sed vitiorum gignit adversitas.</u>	Istane est illa generalis persecutio, quam Apostolus omnes pie viventes pati descripsit? Non facile dixerim, cum sint quidam religiosi quibus nemo pravorum audeat in faciem derogare. <u>Alia ergo intellegenda est, quae immanior et magis noxia est, quamque non materialis intorquet severitas, sed vitiorum gignit adversitas.</u> (ch. 1.14-19)
[6] Porro hec generosa virago, gemina oppugnantium acie circumsepta, et	.. quid aliud quam crudelis pie viventium persecutio adversus <u>conglobatas virtutum</u>

¹⁰⁶ 'Poetelius de Gallis Tiburtibusque geminum triumphum egit'.

¹⁰⁷ Paris lat. 5725, s. ix^{med}; Oxford Bodleian Auct. T.1.25, s. xiⁱⁿ; Einsiedeln 348, s. xⁱⁿ. See Reynolds, *Texts and transmission*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁸ *Libellus de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* in *Ambrosii Autperti Opera* vol. 3, ed. Robert Weber (1979), 907-31.

furentem persequentium rabiem constanter evicit et <u>conglobatas</u> vitiorum <u>acies</u> viriliter debellavit.	<u>acies</u> desaevit? (ch. 1.34-36)
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They are based on the opening remarks of the *apostolica vox*, one of the 25 virtues in dispute with their corresponding vices in the *Conflictus Vitiorum et Virtutum* (*Conflictus*).¹⁰⁹ Its author was Ambrose Autpert, originally from Provence, but who spent most of his life in Italy where he became the abbot of San Vincenzo near Benevento in October 777.¹¹⁰ He resigned from his post in the following year and died on a journey to Rome in 784.¹¹¹

It immediately becomes clear that the two concepts put forward in the prologue above – a) no more opportunities for suffering now that Christianity is established and b) the double front of the outer and the inner enemy – are already present in the *Conflictus*. Autpert addressed this work to Lantfrid, the first abbot of Benediktbeuern.¹¹² This dedication and the content of the *Conflictus* are indicative of the author's intention and potential audience. As the *apostolica vox* makes clear at the beginning of its speech, the unavailability of physical persecutions is no reason not to suffer torments. In other words, since physical torments are no longer available, those who wish to live in Christ ought to look for suffering elsewhere. With a dedicatee such as Lantfrid, one thinks of his monks and their daily battles against the inner enemy – the outer one having been removed, because they are now living in the monastery.¹¹³ But as Leonardi argued,

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of this literary genre see Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (1993).

¹¹⁰ San Vincenzo was founded by Paldo, Taso, and Tato, of whom Autpert wrote a *vita*. He had entered the monastery in c. 740.

¹¹¹ See Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der Karolingischen Erneuerung*, vol. 1 (1975), p. 64-66 for a bibliographical sketch, and p. 518 for a bibliography.

¹¹² Benediktbeuern was founded in the 740s/50s, perhaps with the involvement of Boniface. LMA, s.v. Benediktbeuern.

¹¹³ R. Winandy, 'L'œuvre littéraire d'Ambroise Autpert', *Revue Bénédictine* 60 (1950), 99: 'de nombreux indices révèlent que l'auteur s'adresse à des moines. .. Ajoutons-y ceux-ci. La paresse tire ses arguments des effets prétendument perniciose de la lecture prolongée, de la componction des larmes et de la psalmodie nocturne. .. L'instabilité, maladie essentiellement monastique, a sa place parmi le chœur des vices. .. À propos de la cupidité, l'auteur fait l'éloge

Autpert was not only interested in simply leaving the world behind but wanted to combine this ‘suffering’ with a spiritual dimension.¹¹⁴ Morin called Autpert’s *Conflictus* an ascetic opusculum, which the author terminates with an exhortation to live above all according to the rule of St Benedict.¹¹⁵

Although perhaps an obscure author today, Autpert was very much in vogue during his lifetime and shortly after.¹¹⁶ Among his literary output the ten-book commentary on the Apocalypse was the most important, although the *Conflictus* enjoyed a much wider circulation. This can be explained in part due to homonymy with Ambrose of Milan, to whom the *Conflictus* is attributed in a number of manuscripts.¹¹⁷ Autpert’s works circulated mainly in France and Italy in the eighth to tenth centuries, although his sermons were particularly popular in Germany. The commentary on the Apocalypse survives in 29 manuscripts, the Sermon on Purification in 55 manuscripts, and the *Conflictus* in more than 100, according to H. Walther: ‘jener bekannte *Conflictus* .., der in Hunderten von Handschriften auf uns gekommen ist und häufig gedruckt wurde’.¹¹⁸

In the eighteenth century Autpert and the *Conflictus* were brought into association by Dom. Rivet. He pointed out that a manuscript at Saint-Evrout d’Ouche

de la pauvreté volontaire. .. Les tentations diaboliques décrites sont de celles qui assaillent les moines’.

¹¹⁴ ‘Autperto vi esprime la convinzione che il monachesimo, se è l’istituto che permette la perfezione cristiana mediante la rinuncia materiale al mondo, è uno strumento vano se questa rinuncia non giunge, di là dalla lettera, a una misura divina’. Claudio Leonardi, ‘Spiritualità di Ambrogio Autperto’, *Studi Medievali*, 3.s., 9 (1968), 4. Also at 25: ‘Il *Conflictus* è scritto per l’abate fondatore di Benediktbeuern Lantfrido allo scopo di dar torto a quei monaci che sostenevano, all’opposto dei fondatori di S. Vincenzo, che la perfezione è possibile solo a chi lascia “patria suae nativitatis” (*Confl.* 28.2)’.

¹¹⁵ G. Morin, ‘Le *Conflictus* d’Ambroise Autpert et ses points d’attache avec la Bavière, *Revue Bénédictine* 27 (1910), 204.

¹¹⁶ Paul the Deacon (d. 799?) referred to him as *eruditissimus*, see *Historia Langobardorum*, VI.40. *Monasterium vero beati Vincentii martyris, quod iuxta Vulturni fluminis fontem situm est, et nunc magna congregatione refulget, a tribus nobilibus fratribus, hoc est [Tato Taso et Paldo], iam tunc aedificatum, sicut viri eruditissimi Autperti eiusdem monasterii abbatis in volumine, quod de hac re composuit, scripta significant.* MGH, SRG, G. Waitz (1878).

¹¹⁷ The PL features the *Conflictus* among the works of Ambrose and Augustine. It also circulated under the names of Leo I, Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville. Winandy, ‘L’œuvre littéraire’, 98, lists the authors and the manuscripts.

¹¹⁸ *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters: Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, reprinted with a supplement and indices by Paul Gerhard Schmidt (1984), p. 112. See also H. Silvestre, ‘Notes sur les manuscrits de Bruxelles du *De conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum* d’Ambroise Autpert’, *Calames et cahiers* (1985), p. 159, n. 4.

(Normandy) attributed the dialogue to Autpert.¹¹⁹ Weber, in turn, put forward two reasons for Autpert's authorship of the *Conflictus*: 1) the oldest manuscripts to preserve the work all carry his name; 2) in the twelfth century the *Chronicon Vulturnense* and the anonymous monk of Melk (*de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*) attribute the treatise to Autpert.¹²⁰

The manuscripts of the *Conflictus*

For his edition of the *Conflictus* Weber only used three manuscripts out of a much greater number:

M München BSB Clm 14746, s. xi, prov. St Emmeram/Regensburg

*Incipit libellus Autperti presbyteri de conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum: missus ad Landefredum presbyterum et abbatem in Baioaria constitutum.*¹²¹

N München BSB Clm 14500, s. ix, prov. St Emmeram/Regensburg

Autpert's name is on fol. 2, and the dedicatee is also mentioned: *Lantfredum presybterum et abbatem in Baioaria constitutum.*¹²²

P Paris BN lat. 2731 A, s. xi^{ex}, prov. France.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 4, p. 148. Cited after Winandy, 'L'œuvre littéraire', 99. But already in 1685 the Maurists had restored Autpert's authorship of the dialogue in the appendix of their Augustine edition, on the basis of a number of parallels with the commentary on the Apocalypse (PL 40, col. 1091-92), see Winandy, 'L'œuvre littéraire', 98.

¹²⁰ Weber, *Libellus*, p. 878. The *Chronicon Vulturnense* also contains Autpert's Life of Paldo, Tato and Taso (BHL 6415), as well as his own Life (BHL 0368) written by the monk John, the author of the *Chronicon*. See D. Hoffman, 'Das *Chronicon Vulturnense* und die Chronik von Montecassino', *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966), 179-96.

¹²¹ Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* (1960), p. 196. The *Conflictus* is followed by Autpert's *Sermo in Purificatione Mariae*. The two works are written by two different hands, but probably contemporary.

¹²² For the date and provenance see Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, p. 38. For details on Autpert's name see Morin, 'Le *Conflictus*', 204-12.

¹²³ Date and provenance Bischoff, personal comment to Weber. Its previous call-marks were Colbert 4085 and Regius 4533⁵⁵, see *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. 3: Paris BN (1958), p. 40-41. On p. 41-42 is described lat. 2732, a libellus containing the *Conflictus*, s. xii, belonged to J.-A. de Thou.

Other early manuscripts include:

- München BSB Clm 14757, fol. 100-127, written at St Emmeram, Regensburg at the time of bishop Baturich (817-47).¹²⁴
- München BSB Clm 27059, s. ix/x, prov. Schäftlarn.
- München BSB Clm 17059, s. ix, prov. Schäftlarn.
- Paris BN lat. 2843, s. x/xi (*Conflictus* = s. xi), prov. Saint-Martial, Limoges.

Here Autpert's *Conflictus* has been combined with Halitgar of Cambrai's *De poenitentia* to form a treatise on penitence.¹²⁵

As regards the transmission of the *Conflictus*, it is clear that the earliest manuscript come from ninth/tenth-century Bavaria, mainly Regensburg as well as Schäftlarn. This would seem a natural development in view of the dedication to Lantfrid. From Benediktbeuern it would easily have found its way to the Benedictine monasteries of Schäftlarn (founded 760/64) and St Emmeram (c. 700).

There is also at least one manuscript from France, where the *Conflictus* seems to have enjoyed a diffusion too. This is corroborated by the incorporation into the *Vulgate* of passages from the *Conflictus*. Moreover, the *Conflictus* survives in four manuscripts from Jumièges, one of which has been dated to the tenth century: 1378, s. x.¹²⁶ Silvestre's study on the *Conflictus*' manuscripts includes three from the eleventh century with northern French and Flemish provenances:¹²⁷

- Bruxelles BR 8344-46, s. xi^{med.}, St Laurent/Liège (?)
- Bruxelles BR 8714-19, s. xi, St Rictrude, Marchiennes
- Paris BN lat. 104000, fol. 138 + Bruxelles BR 9398-99 + 9361-67, s. xi^{1/2}, St Laurent/Liège.

Can we be sure that the *Vulgate*-author is using the *Conflictus*, rather than the other way round? And, in view of this tradition, is it possible to discern whether the

¹²⁴ Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, p. 196-97.

¹²⁵ Where the three parts were bound together in 1205 by Bernard Itier, see *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. 3, Paris. BN (1952), p. 145-47.

¹²⁶¹²⁶ The others are: 670, s. xiii; 1468, s. xiii; 933, s. xv. The thirteenth-century catalogue from Lyre lists the *Conflictus*, as does the seventeenth-century catalogue for St Evroul. See Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 197.

¹²⁷ Silvestre, 'Notes sur les manuscrits de Bruxelles du *De Conflictu*', p. 162-65.

Vulgate follows a particular branch of the *Conflictus*? It seems to me that the first question can be answered by comparing the dates of the manuscripts of the *Conflictus* and those preserving the *Vulgate*. While the *Conflictus* can claim at least four pre-900-AD manuscripts, the *Vulgate* is only documented in manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards.¹²⁸ As I have shown above, there is evidence that the *Vulgate* was composed in northern France, so it seems unlikely that someone had written the account in Italy where he might have had access to Autpert's *Conflictus*, especially since there are no surviving early manuscripts, both of the *Vulgate* and the *Conflictus*, that would point to an Italian tradition.

In light of this, one would expect the *Vulgate* to follow the French tradition of the *Conflictus* rather than the German manuscripts. However, since Weber's edition is based only on a handful of manuscripts, as well as two printed editions, it is difficult to come to a conclusive answer.¹²⁹ The parallels with the *Conflictus* in the *Vulgate*'s prologue certainly do not contain any divergent readings. Luckily, the *Vulgate*-author did not use the *Conflictus* just this once, but clearly saw in it a useful source for the 'prison-scene'. This double use of Autpert's work, both in the prologue and the main text, clearly establishes a firm link between the two.

While Maxentius is away on state matters, the Queen and Porphyrius take the opportunity to visit Katherine in her prison cell. This gives her another opportunity to extol the Christian faith and to convert two major protagonists. The conversion of the Queen is easily achieved, but Porphyrius, who has amassed great wealth, is sceptical and looks for a quantitative estimate of God's gifts.¹³⁰ In her answer to him, Katherine slips from her own words into the role of the *amor patriae caelestis* of Autpert's *Conflictus*:

¹²⁸ It is highly unlikely that the lost text from München Clm 4554 was the that of the *Vulgate* (see also chapter 1).

¹²⁹ In addition to the three manuscripts M, N, and P, Weber collated:

α S. Augustini liber de conflictu vic. et virt. [Argentorati, G. Husner 1474?]

μ S. Augustini Opera, ed. Maurinorum, t. VI, 1685, Appendix, col. 219-228. The manuscripts used for this edition came from Corbie, Lyre, St Victor and St Germain-des-Prés, as well as a manuscript described as *regius* by its editors. See Weber, *Libellus*, p. 879.

¹³⁰ One of Jesus' revolutionary teachings was (Luke 12.33-34): 'facite vobis sacculos qui non veterescunt thesaurum non deficientem in aelis quo fur non adpropiat neque tinea corrumpit ubi enim thesaurus vester est ibi et cor vestrum erit'. The *Regula Benedicti* prescribes the following

<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 775-800)		<i>Conflictus</i> 26.17-39
Katherine		<i>Amor patriae caelestis</i>
Quod si ita est – immo quia ita est – nunc in aduersum mentis defige intuitum et, quia interrogando sciscitaris que sunt et quanta illa premia que suis Christus pro transitoriis rependit, sic accipe: porro, <u>si hec que sub celo sunt</u> tam fluxa atque fugitiua aliquo modo forent expetenda, <u>cur non</u> ¹³¹ <u>multo magis que super celos sunt</u> firma et stabilia mentes humanas non <u>oblectant</u> , presertim cum illa nec ad uotum possunt retineri, ista, semel accepta, ultra non possunt amitti? Mundus iste uelut <u>carcer</u> est tenebrosus, <u>in quo nullus ita nascitur ut non moriatur</u> ; illa superna <u>patria</u> , pro qua fit mundi contemptus, uelut <u>ciuitas</u> est, sole numquam indigens, <u>ubi nulla turbat aduersitas, nulla necessitas angustat, molestia nulla inquietat, sed perennis letitia, iocunditas eterna, felicitas regnat sempiterna. Si queris quid ibi sit ubi tanta et talis beatitudo consistit, aliter dici non potest nisi ‘Quicquid boni est ibi est, et quicquid mali est nusquam est.’ ‘Quod’, inquis, ‘bonum?’ ‘Illud est’, dico, ‘quod oculus non uidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparauit Deus diligentibus se. Ad hanc felicitatem quidam, diuitiis constipatus, anhelabat,</u>	1 2 3 4	<u>Si te ita delectant quae sub caelo sunt, cur non magis delectentur ea quae super caelos sunt?</u> Si <u>carcer</u> ita pulcher est, <u>patria, ciuitas</u> et domus qualis est? Si talia sunt quae incolunt peregrini, qualia sunt quae possident filii? Si mortales et miseri in hac vita taliter sunt remunerati, immortales et beati qualiter sunt in illa vita ditati? Quapropter recedat amor praesentis saeculi, <u>in quo nullus ita nascitur, ut non moriatur</u> , et succedat amor saeculi futuri, in quo sic omnes vivificantur, ut deinceps non moriantur, <u>ubi nulla aduersitas turbat, nulla necessitas angustat, nulla molestia inquietat, sed perennis laetitia regnat. Si quaeris, quid ibi sit, ubi tanta et talis beatitudo perstitit, aliter dici non potest nisi, quicquid boni est, ibi est et quicquid mali est, nusquam est. Quod, inquis, illud bonum est? Quid me interrogas? A Propheta et apostolo definitum est: ‘Quod oculus’, inquit, ‘non uidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, quae praeparauit Deus his qui diligunt</u>

for monks (ch. 33.1-5): ‘praecipue hoc vitium radicitus amputandum est de monasterio, ne quis praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine iussione abbatis, neque aliud habere proprium, nullam omnino rem, neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque grafium, sed nihil omnino’.

¹³¹ Dobson has emended *non* to *enim*, although the MSS agree on *non*. Dobson’s justification (*Seinte Katerine*, p. 292): ‘all copies read *non* where we emend to *enim*, but their text seems impossible in view of *non* before *oblectant* in the next line; we assume that in the archetype the abbreviation ·N· for *enim* had been replaced by ñ for *non*’. The parallel in the *Conflictus* shows that *non* is correct in terms of the source text, but becomes nonsensical in the *Vulgate* due to the repeated *non* in front of *oblectant*.

<p><u>dicens</u> ‘Usque quo me, Deus, in hoc mundi squalentis puluere reprimis?’ ‘Usque adeo sitientem ad te spiritum intra carnis ergastulum reprimis?’ ‘Usque quo prolongatur incolatus meus?’ Hec est illa desiderabilis patria ubi non est luctus neque clamor neque dolor, sed absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum; de qua dicit unus ex suis, ‘<u>Satiabor dum manifestabitur gloria tua.</u>’ Parua quidem sunt que dico ad ea que uisu et rerum ueritate experieris si fidelis usque in finem perseueraueris.</p>	5	<p><u>eum.</u>’ <u>Ad hanc felicitatem</u> multis saeculi <u>divitiis constipatus</u> David <u>anhelabat</u> cum <u>diceret</u>: ‘Quid mihi restat in caelo, et a te quid volui super terram?’ Multis regaliū dapibus abundans dicebat: ‘<u>Satiabor cum manifestabitur gloria tua.</u>’ Et rursum: ‘Sitivit anima mea ad Deum vivum, quando veniam et parebo ante faciem Dei?’ Et rursum: ‘Sitivit anima mea ad Deum vivum, quando veniam et parebo ante faciem Dei?’ Rursumque: ‘Heu me, quod incolatus meus prolongatus est?’ Hinc et Paulus: ‘Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo, multo autem melius.’</p>
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Apparatus - <i>Vulgate</i>	sect.	Apparatus - <i>Conflictus</i>
cur non multo magis quae super caelos sunt] CODD	1	cur non magis delectent ea quae super caelos sunt] <i>om.</i> P
oblectant] oblectent CDLN	2	delectent] delectant α
bonum illud] CODD	3	illud bonum] bonum illud P
ascendit] CODD	4	ascenderunt] ascendit P α μ
dum	5	cum] dum P

The comparison of the two apparatus reveals that in three instances the *Vulgate* follows the Paris manuscript. The inversion of *bonum illud* and the reading of *dum* instead of *cum* are not such strong evidence. However, the agreement of the *Vulgate* over *ascendit* with P, as well as α and μ suggests that we are here in the French tradition of the *Conflictus*, especially if we consider the fact that μ represents at least four manuscripts of French provenance. The omission by P of more than a mere word need not pose difficulties since α and μ preserve it, so that the conclusion must be that *Vulgate* was not based on the text preserved in P. As mentioned before, Weber only used a limited number of the available manuscripts, which makes these observations provisional.

On a compositional level, the effect of the word *carcer* is rather neat (*mundus iste velut carcer est tenebrosus*, Dob. 783).¹³² The setting of Katherine's encounter with the Queen and Porphyrius is her prison cell (while the short exchanges in the *Conflictus* have been set in neither time nor space). This actual setting in the *Vulgate* echoes one of the arguments put forward by the *amor patriae caelestis*. Towards the beginning of its speech it asks: *si carcer ita pulcher est, patria, civitas et domus qualis est?* The *carcer* here clearly refers to the world the *amor saeculis praesenti* is so comfortable in, and it is contrasted with the *patria caelestis*, referred to not only as *patria*, but also by decreasing entities of *civitas* and *domus*. We can easily imagine Katherine making a sweeping gesture as she points to the dark walls of her surroundings which are illuminated only by the glimmer emanating from her and the holy men sitting around her.

It is clear, therefore, that the *Vulgate*-author had thought carefully about which passages of the *Conflictus* he was going to use and where in his text he was going to use them. The role-play that is created is also striking, because, although he does not get to speak in this passage, Porphyrius is described as *primae cohortis praefecturam agebat et magnis rerum possessionibus pollebat* (Dob. 763) and thus silently assumes the role of the *amor saeculi praesenti*.

As I have mentioned above, the *Conflictus* was Autpert's most enduring work: a much closer investigation than I have been able to undertake of the transmission of its early French manuscripts in the context of the Cluniac Reform might reveal that there is a connection between the two. The interest accorded to the *Conflictus* by the *Vulgate*-

¹³² In his *sermo de adsumptione Sanctae Mariae*, 8.1, Autpert writes: 'quaecumque igitur anima sancta talibus fuerit incitamentis occupata, nihil concupiscit terrenum, nihil transitorium, nihil quod ad tempus arridet, nihil quod ad praesens delectat; quae risum luctum deputat, et gaudium in maerorem commutat; cui mundus carcer, caelum vero habitatio est, cui exultatio de praesentibus nulla est, quia in illo tantum gaudere appetit, qui super omnes est'. Other authors to equate the world with a prison are, for example, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 141.17.13: 'Quibusdam ergo visum est quod spelunca et carcer mundus iste sit; et hoc orat Ecclesia, ut de carcere educatur, id est, de hoc mundo, de sub sole, ubi omnia vanitas'. Paschasius Radbertus (d. c. 860), *Expositio in Matthaeo Libri xii*. Bk 3.1751: 'Inter quae lamenta hic mundus non nisi carcer aestimatur, et ea quae in eo nitore pulchritudinis flagrant non aliud quam carnis laquei deputantur'. Bk VIII.3878: 'Quod utinam non nossemus fieri in hoc saeculo, in tantum ut non liceat miseros ad veniam respirare. Quos saepe retrudunt in carcere tam crudeliter ut eis totus mundus unus sit carcer'.

author hints at someone who enjoyed debating questions of faith and observance, someone who clearly had something to say and took the trouble to sit down and piece together the *Vulgate*; for that is – as I will continue to show – what he did.

3.2 The ‘*Consultationes Zacchei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi*’

Delehaye wrote the following statement about how hagiographers composed the speeches their protagonists delivered in the face of questioning by their tormentor:

l’hagiographe n’a souvent pas pris la peine de composer la harangue qu’il fait prononcer par son héros; il trouve plus commode de transcrire un chapitre ou des extraits de quelque traité convenablement choisi, par un procédé analogue à celui qui nous a conservé l’apologie d’Aristide dans l’histoire des saints Barlaam et Joasaph.¹³³

In the light of this observation, and of the ‘pillaging’ of the *Conflictus* by the *Vulgate*-author, Katherine’s other speeches must now bear the careful eye of the observer. Of course Delehaye was right: a great part of the speeches exchanged between the virgin and Maxentius, and then in the debate with the philosophers, are based on the anonymous *Consultationes Zacchei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi* (CZA). Like Autpert’s *Conflictus* it is a dialogue-based text, this time between a Christian and a pagan; the roles are played by prominent members of each group, although the entire dialogue is fictitious. Katherine takes on the role of Zaccheus, the Christian, while the emperor, and then the philosophers, assume that of Apollonius.

In what follows, I set out the parallel passages and discuss each in turn, including any significant agreements/errors in the manuscripts; these are highlighted in grey. I then examine the origin and transmission of the CZA in some detail, especially since scholarship was for a long time divided on its origin and it survives in only a handful of manuscripts. The total of seven is made up of witnesses mainly from Benedictine monasteries in the Frankish kingdom. They are:

- T Paris lat. 2667A, s. x, went through abbey of Fleury, but probably not written there. CZA only.
- P Paris lat. 2968A, s. x, went through abbey of Fleury (?). CZA only.

¹³³ Delehaye, *Les légendes Hagiographiques* (1927³), p. 88-89.

- M Metz 141, s. xi, St Arnould/Metz (Benedictine). Destroyed during WWII but used by Morin. Contained *Liber Augustini contra Manicheos de duabus animabus*, CZA, *Conflictus Augustini et Fortunati*, *Sermo in natali sancti Mathiae*.
- L Paris lat. 2400, s. xi, written at the behest of Ademar of Chabannes, maybe at Saint-Cybard/Angoulême, then came to Saint-Martial/Limoges. Contents are miscellaneous.
- B Leiden Voss. lat. Q 113, s. xi. CZA only. Apparently the second part of Vaticano Reg. lat. 252. According to Wilmart it comes from a scriptorium at Tours.¹³⁴
- V variants from manuscripts from La Trinité at Vendôme (taken from first edition of d'Achery). CZA and *Altercatio* attributed to Evagrius.
- C Cues 52, s. xii, ?St Eucharis & St Matthias/Trier. Contents are a combination of theological and canonical texts.

Another manuscript belonged to Zacharius Conrad von Uffenbach but appears now as lost. Two manuscripts were also mentioned in medieval catalogues of the abbeys Saint-Èvre/Toul and Saint-Martin/Massay, but they are now lost.

Feiertag identified the following two groupings:

β = BV LT

κ = CMP

The evidence clearly indicates a Frankish diffusion of the text, which was particularly strong in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

¹³⁴ See a discussion of the manuscript in Feiertag, *Questions d'un païen*, vol. 1, p. 49-50. Vat. Reg. lat. 252 contains Augustine's *De diversis Quaestionibus* and a number of Homilies by John Chrysostom. The index on fol. 1 indicates a now lost, third text, in other words the CZA.

Katherine's First Speech

<i>Vulgate</i> (continuous text, Dob. 116-34)	CZA Book I ¹³⁵
KATHERINE	ZACCHEUS
Etenim malorum omnium inuentor diabolus, <u>inter omnes scelerum suorum artes, nulla dubios perniciosius appetit, nec alias a Dei cultu subtilius auocat, quam ut, cum sciamus nos Deo soli debere quod formamur et nascimur, hec omnia elementis mundi ascribi debere suadeat</u> –	29.11 <u>Inter omnes enim scelerum suorum artes nulla dubios perniciosius appetit, nec alias a dei cultu subtilius homines avocat, quam ut, cum sciamus omnes deo nos debere quod formamur et nascimur, fato nos suadeat debere quod vivimus.</u>
quibus <u>uos diuinitatis numen attribuitis et, appositis nominibus, pro Deo singula atque uniuerſa ueneramini,</u>	25.16 <u>Haec vos appositis nominibus pro deo singula atque uniuerſa ueneramini.</u>
nulla alia ratione in hanc erroneam opinionem traducti nisi quod <u>coeternam Deo essentiam in se seruare uidentur; que plane a Deo ex nichilo facta sunt, et in hanc mundi formam mirabili conspiratione sociata; que, sicut initium ex Dei creatione sumpserunt, ita perennitatem eius beneficio consequuntur. Et ideo coeterna Deo non sunt, quia impossibile est creaturam, temporaliter factam, creatori suo, qui est sine tempore, coeuam esse et conſempiternam;</u>	25.3-5 3. <u>Omni igitur elementa, quae vos deo velut coaeterna numeratis, ab ipso, sicut iam dixi, et ex nihilo facta sunt, et in hanc mundi formam mirabili conspiratione sociata.</u> 4. <u>Quae, sicut initium ex dei creatione sumpserunt, ita perennitatem eius beneficio consequuntur.</u> <u>Et ideo ei coaeterna non sunt a quo facta sunt, quia nulli dubium est, auctori quaelibet non solum paria non esse, sed esse subiecta.</u>
ille enim solus est sine initio <u>a quo rerum omnium processit exordium.</u> Talibus ergo diuinitas non est ascribenda, que, sub Dei dispositione posita, non que sue uoluntatis sunt faciunt, sed a Deo imposite seruiunt rationi.	25.19 Vides ergo deo soli initium non apponendum, <u>a quo omnium processit exordium,</u> nec conſempiterna maiestati illius aestimanda quae, ut aeterna sint, sicut de homine, ipse factururus est.
<u>Dii ergo non sunt plures, sed unus nascentium et viventium formator est Deus, qui, sicut omnia creauit, ita imperio suo omnia coercet atque disponit.</u>	25.18 <u>Dii enim plures non sunt, sed unus nascentium viventiumque formator, sicut fecit omnia, et regit, parique imperio vel mansura efficit, vel casura decernit.</u>

¹³⁵ references are to Feiertag's chapter divisions, see J.L. Feiertag, *Questions d'un païen à un Chrétien* (Consultationes Zacchei christiani et Apollonii philosophi) (1994).

Katherine's First Speech

It is apparent that the *Vulgate*-author does not strictly follow his source: he has taken phrases from chapters 25 and 29 of the first book. In chapter 25 Zaccheus answers Apollonius' question about how the mass of the sky was made. In chapter 29 he deals with the question of why Christians do not believe in fate. This process of cobbling together various parts from one source to form a more or less coherent whole in the *Vulgate* goes to show that the author was perhaps not so interested in a sound theological argumentation on Katherine's part. Rather, the use of the *Consultationes* results in the appearance of Katherine as a learned figure who is comfortable in apologetic debate.

The theme for this first speech is that of God, the powerful creator of heaven and earth, in keeping with Exodus 20.11: *sex enim diebus fecit Dominus caelum et terram et mare et omnia quae in eius sunt*. This is echoed in Psalm 113, a favourite of the *Vulgate*-author: *benedicti vos Domino qui fecit caelum et terram*. Here the author's skill of adaptation can be seen at work: he always introduces the source texts with a few words of his own. For example, the first sentence (*etenim malorum..*) is made to link up with the rest by the insertion of *omnia elementis mundi*, which allows the author to continue with another chapter of the CZA. The original *haec* is changed to *quibus* in apposition to *elementis*.

The reply of the emperor, followed by Katherine’s second speech

<i>Vulgate</i> (cont. text, Dob. 149-66 + 171-202)	CZA Book I
EMPEROR	APOLLONIUS
<p>Nos vero non ignoramus <u>omnes religionum sectas et universos sacrorum ritus rationabilibus manasse primordiis</u>; Romani namque principes, iustitia semper eet religione mortales omnes preeuntes, totum in leges suas orbem redegerunt. Non ergo vana superstitio est his uti cerimoniis quibus longa etas religionis auctoritatem dedit, et servata tot seculis fides sequendos nobis monet esse parentes, qui feliciter secuti sunt suos. <u>Vestre autem credulitatis secta ita superflua et irrationabilis est ut nulli sane mentis recipienda videatur.</u> <u>Quid enim tam absurdum, et ab humana ratione tam alienum, quam ut Iesum, quem Iudei crucifixerunt, Dei filium asseratis</u> – quem virilis ignara consortii <u>virgo</u> conceperit, <u>conceptum</u> clauso utero peperit; qui a discipulo traditus crucis suspendio interierit, de <u>cruce</u> triduane sepulture moras pertulerit, de sepulchro, resumpto spiritu, surrexerit? Que sane omnia vana et nulli sapienti credibilia habentur.</p> <p><u>Nec sufficit vobis tam stulto errori adhibere consensum nisi et immortales deos nostros, solem et lunam, temeraria insectatione condemnetis, quorum beneficio utentes, mortales honorem qui numinibus debetur non solvere sine offensione non possunt.</u></p>	<p>1.2-3</p> <p>2. <u>Omnes enim religionum sectas et universos sacrorum ritus rationabilibus manasse primordiis</u> facile intellegas, si diligenter inquiras.</p> <p><u>Vestrae autem credulitatis secta ita superflua et irrationabilis est ut mihi non nisi per stultitiam recipi posse videatur.</u></p> <p>3. <u>Quid enim tam absurdum et ab humana ratione tam discrepans quam ut Christus, quem dei Filium dicitis, deus et homo pariter idemque credatur; conceptum sine semine virgo pariat, deus nascatur ex femina, per consequentes postea aetatum gradus terreni actus humilitatem cognoscat, sentiat, patiatur et perferat, fixus deinde cruci mortem adeat atque ad extremum mortuus a se suscitetur?</u></p> <p>4. <u>Nec sufficit huius persuasionis auctoribus tam stultae traditioni adgregare consensum, nisi et immortales gentilium deos fastidiosa infestatione condemnent;</u> vigentem praeterea aeternitate sua mundum velut temporarium brevemque despiciant, sibi sine fati ullius constitutione degentibus post resurrectionem corporum mortuorum immortalitatis beatitudinem pollicentes.</p>
KATHERINE (Dob. 171-202)	ZACCHEUS
<p>Tota in errore vestra disputatio ex hoc esse patet, quod his de quibus sermo est, et ceteris elementis, divinitatis nomen inaniter</p>	<p>25.6</p> <p>Hoc autem intellectui apertissime patet, mundum ex pluribus fuisse compositum. Unde adverti facile potest, non illi inesse,</p>

<p>attribuitis; nec <u>illis inesse sed preesse divinitatem</u>, quia <u>alterius adiumento divinitas sola non indiget</u>, sed una in se et simplex atque perfecta est quia <u>incorporeus et invisibilis et incorruptibilis Deus est</u>.</p>	<p><u>sed praeesse divinitatem</u>, quoniam <u>alterius adiumento divinitas sola non indiget</u>, sed una in se et simplex atque perfecta est, quia <u>incorporalis</u>, et ide <u>invisibilis et incorruptibilis deus est</u>.</p>
<p>[no equivalent in CZA] <i>Ad cuius nutum hec ipsa mundi elementa, velut factori suo famulantia, impositis officiis subservire conspiciamus, et pro meritis hominum, Dei iudicio, vitales mortalibus aut corruptiores auras ingerunt. Nullam igitur divinitatis essentiam talibus constat inesse, quibus officii naturalis obseruantia non ex proprio arbitrio sed ex creantis pendet imperio.</i></p>	
<p><u>Aspice cursum solis luneque discursus, et utrique cotidie per vicissitudines temporum uel ortum uel occasum repetendum:</u> <u>superuentu noctis sol diem perdit, quem tamen nec semper illuminat, dum nubium obiectu excluditur;</u> <u>luna sui patitur detrimentum, et plenitudinem luminis sub constitutione creatoris aut perdit aut recipit. Varios praeterea siderum lapsus itidem considerare licet,</u> <u>accessum quoque maris et recessum, quod alternantibus motibus aut sereno quiescit aut tempestate turbatur.</u></p> <p><u>Terra imbribus infusa mollitur, eadem aut gelu stringitur aut calore siccatur, quin et, aspectu Dei, metuens contremiscit ac se imperio subditam motu ipso fatetur.</u></p> <p><u>Ipsum aerem perniciosior alitus sepe corrumpit et dum grauauerit efficit pestilentem;</u> <u>vincuntur fuis ad Deum precibus pluue, et prolixa rursum serenitas supplicatione mutatur. Aduerte igitur qualiter cuncta hec elementa aut imposite seruiunt rationi, aut in usus hominum necessarios ex gratia</u></p>	<p>25.9-17</p> <p>9. <u>Aspice transitus solis, lunaeque discursus, et utrique cottidie per vicissitudines temporum vel ortum vel occasum esse repetendum.</u></p> <p>10. <u>Adventu noctis sol diem perdit, quem tamen nec semper obiectu nubium velut exclusus illuminat.</u></p> <p>11. <u>Luna sui patitur detrimentum, et plenitudinem luminis sub constitutione rectoris aut perdit, aut recipit; varios praeterea siderum lapsus et rationi signa famulantia.</u></p> <p>12. <u>Intumescens notis mensibus mare, et sub certa horarum dispensatione excessum modumque custodiens, aut sereno quiescit, aut tempestate turbatur.</u></p> <p>13. <u>Terra imbribus infusa mollitur, eademque rursum aut gelu stringitur, aut calore siccatur, quin et aspectum dei metuens contremescit, ac se imperio subditam motu fatetur.</u></p> <p>14. <u>Ipsum aerem perniciosior halitus saepe corrumpit, et postquam gravaverit, efficit pestilentem.</u></p> <p>15. <u>Vincuntur piis ad dominum precibus pluviae, et prolixa rursum serenitas supplicatione mutatur, cunctaque aut impositae seruiunt rationi, aut in usum hominis necessarium sub religiosa</u></p>

conditoris uertuntur.

Hec sunt que pro Deo uenerantes adoratis, nec intelligitis quantam creatori contumeliam ad uestram, nisi conuersi fueritis, eternam damnationem infertis, qui unus et incommutabilis Deus, in se permanens, numquam desinit esse quod est, cuius consempiterna diuinitas potenter omnia mutat nec mutatur.

Quod si ita est – immo quia ita est – falso dii estimantur et error in promptu est. Desine igitur talia predicare, que nulla ualent ratione comprobari.'

deprecatione vertuntur.

16. Haec vos appositis nominibus pro deo singula atque universa veneramini.

17. Quod si ita est, falso dii aestimantur, et error in promptu est. Si vero aliquos, qui hisdem ex arbitrio dei praesint, apertae stultitiae est subicienti aequare subiectos.

The reply of the emperor, followed by Katherine’s second speech

In this section the emperor asks the sorts of questions Apollonius puts forward in Bk I.1; we are here at the very beginning of the dialogue between the pagan and the Christian. Not surprisingly, then, the first question the philosopher is made to ask is about how Jesus could have been human and divine at the same time. But while it is Apollonius who begins the conversation in the CZA, the emperor is merely speaking following Katherine’s initial outburst against him. So in the *Vulgate*, she clearly has the upper hand as regards control over the conversation, although she is ultimately at the tyrant’s mercy.

Katherine’s answers, however, are not those Zaccheus gives in answer to Apollonius’ particular question. Instead, the *Vulgate*-author has jumped ahead to chapter 25 which he has already used in composing Katherine’s first speech. In continuation from this, Katherine goes into more detail about how God controls his creation and how it is therefore wrong to venerate what he has created. Katherine’s speech in particular is almost entirely based on the CZA. At its very end, the *Vulgate*-author intervenes in the text to make it stronger rhetorically. He intensifies the original conclusion of *quod si ita est* by adding *immo quia ita est*.

As regards a comparison of the apparatus, there is no firm evidence to show that the *Vulgate* is following a particular tradition of the CZA.

Apparatus – <i>Vulgate</i>	Apparatus – CZA
temeraria insectatione CODD (Dob. 164)	fastidiosa infestatione CODD (1.4)
incorporeus CODD (Dob. 176)	incorporalis CODD (25.6)
aspectu] aspectum EIJNOS, p.c. Θ (Dob. 190)	aspectum] aspectu g m mo (25.13)
deum] CODD (Dob. 192)	dominum] deum C P (25.15)

The change from *fastidiosa infestatione* to *temeraria insectatione* in the *Vulgate* does not interere too much with the overall meaning of the sentence. Interesting is the similarity between *insectatione* and *infestatione*, making a misreading of ‘f’ for ‘s’ and ‘s’ for ‘c’ a possibility. On balance, the agreement of the manuscripts suggests that it is a deliberate

change. The fact that all *Vulgate* manuscripts agree on *incorporeus* (Dob. 176) against the CZA's *incorporalis* implies another deliberate change on the part of the *Vulgate*-author and that he perhaps felt uncomfortable using the third-declension adjective when he could use its first/second declension alternative. A small number of *Vulgate* manuscripts (including two eleventh-century witnesses (E O) offer *aspectum*, just like the CZA. But, as is clear from the evidence, there was confusion about whether it depended on *metuens* or caused the earth to tremble, so that it cannot be used, at least on its own, to argue for a particular CZA transmission being used by the *Vulgate*-author. The variant *deum* for *dominum* is not decisive as either of the two forms are a possible resolution for the abbreviation *dm*.

The first question by the philosophers and Katherine’s answer

<i>Vulgate</i>	<i>CZA Book I</i>
<i>RHETOR</i> (Dob. 396-402)	<i>APOLLONIUS</i>
<p>‘Si Deus,’ inquit, ‘ut asseris, aut Dei filius erat, mori quomodo potuit? Si homo, mortem superare quomodo preualuit? Hoc plane <u>contra totius mundi rationem et legem nature</u> esse constat, ut immortalis mori possit et legem mortis uincere queat mortalis. Cum utique, et si, aliquo modo concedatur ut deus aut homo debeat predicari, certum sit alterutrum fieri posse, simul utrumque esse non posse.’</p>	<p>2.1 Facilitas me vestrae credulitatis et <u>contra totius mundi rationem legemque naturae</u> suscepta confessio vehementius loqui et districtius disserere coegit.</p>
<i>KATHERINE</i> (Dob. 403-66, continuous text)	<i>ZACCHEUS</i>
<p><u>Vestre</u>, ut uideo, <u>controuersie</u> hec <u>est subtilitas</u>, ut, in eo quod <u>credere</u> non uultis, <u>recepta parte</u> una, quod integrum est <u>subruatis</u>: uidelicet ut, cum deus sit, homo esse non possit, tamquam omnipotenti Deo hoc impossibile esse constet, ut qui potenter de nichilo omnia, et hominem, creauit, de nichilo idem Deus substantiuam hominis formam induere non posset, per quam inuisibilis uideri et impassibilis mori potuisset.</p>	<p>2.3. <u>Vestrarum argutiarum est</u> ista <u>subtilitas</u>, quod <u>credi</u> nolitis <u>recepta</u> primum <u>parte</u> destruere, et ad hoc exiguis manus dare ut integra <u>subruatis</u>.</p>
<p>Tu uero, si rei ueritatem scire preoptas, <u>depone false sapientie supercilium</u> et assume formam discipuli, ut, cum ex rebus inenarrabilem Dei potentiam agnoueris, <u>uel</u> tunc credulus non deroges in eo hominis quam uoluntarius assumpsit infirmitatem.</p>	<p>4.3 Et ego, per ipsum credo, qui excitare sibi incolas etiam ex lapidibus potest, te a gentilitatis errore facile posse deduci, si eum cuius maiestatem vel conscius neglegis, <u>vel</u> ignorans requiris, <u>deposito falsae sapientiae supercilio</u>, confestim ubi rebus agnoveris corde non renuas.</p>
<p>Nam <u>cum in re omni inestimabiles sint diuitie Dei, maxime (in honore sui nominis approbando, prouocandis ad fidem hominibus)</u> maiestas uero ostenditur ubi uirtus imperiosa mortuis uitam refundit, cecis lumen restituit.</p> <p>Huius nimirum singulariter est admiranda deitatis potentia, qui non magicis</p>	<p>6.4-7 4. Sed <u>cum in re omni inaestimabiles sint diuitiae dei, maxime in honore sui nominis approbando provocandisque ad fidem hominibus maiestas vera diffunditur.</u></p> <p>5. Unde, si haec parua sunt, inaudita curationum remedia succedunt, et</p>

carminibus, sed sola diuina potentia, mortuorum spiritus reuocat ad corpora, cuius potenti uirtute claudis gressus redditur, leprosi mundantur –

que si ab eo gesta non credis, fieri ab hominibus in nomine eius, uel certe multotiens facta, cognosce.

Qui si deus non esset, mortuis uitam dare non posset; si homo non fuisset, mori ut homo non potuisset.

Nam idem Christus deus est, qui mortem sua carne suscepit, et idem Christus homo est, qui mortem sua diuinitate destruxit; idem quippe Dei filius, qui diuinitate mori non potuit, carne mortuus est quam mortalem Deus immortalis suscepit, et idem Christus, Dei filius, carne mortuus surrexit, quia immortalitatem sue diuinitatis, carne mortuus, non amisit. Mors itaque non Christum, sed in se Christus mortem, occidit.’

Non est igitur iam inops fide[s] nostr[a] aut egena [apologia], ut in sui defensione externis tantum innitatur testimoniis.

Tu autem, si adhuc incredulus dubitas, audi immundos demoniorum spiritus, quibus diuinitatis numen attribuitis – audi inquam, sub huius uocabuli inuocatione conterritos, Christum Deum et Dei filium non negare aut, uelut reos cum tormenta seuiunt questionum, non quod placeat dicere sed quod extorquetur fateri.

Igitur, si fidei nostre credulitatem derogatis, diis saltem uestris credite aut, si ulterius pudor non est, negent certe homines quod etiam demones confitentur. Sed dicis michi quia uaria demonum commenta pro ratione

inenarrabilia dei etiam in mortuos porrecta beneficia. Iubente itaque Christo, caeci illuminantur, auditus redditur suridis, claudi ambulant, mundantur leprosi, mortui suscitantur.

6. Quae si ab eodem gesta non creditis, fieri ab hominibus in nomine eius aut facta cognoscite.

7. Qui utique si dei Filius aut deus non esset, vel falso induisse hominem crederetur, nec invocatus adsisteret, nec profutura indigentibus signa praestaret, quia aperte intellegi potest nec deum adquiescere mendacio, nec homines per mendacium signa posse promereri.

5.4-5

4. Non est tam inops fidei nostrae aut egena defensio ut in sui probatione externis tantum innitatur testimoniis, nec quod intra se est foris quaerit.

5. Audi immundos daemoniorum spiritus, quae uestra sunt numina, sub huius uocabuli inuocatione conterritos, Christum deum et dei Filium non negare, ac uelut reos cum tormenta saeuiunt quaestionum, non quod placeat dicere, sed quod extorquetur fateri.

Et, si credulitatem nostrae fidei derogatis, diis saltim uestris credite. Aut, si ulterius pudor non est, negent homines quod etiam demones confitentur.

et uolubilem incertorum spirituum sententiam pro fidei proponam experimento?	
Ego plane, non ut Christus spirituum immundorum testimoniis indigeat, hec intersero, sed quia <u>inuita demonum confessio non leui estimatione pensanda est, quia, nisi inuisibilibus cruciatibus agerentur, libere utique pro se facilius dicerent quam semper contra se mentirentur.</u>	6.3 Aequum esset vestrorum vos primum testimoniis credere, deinde <u>inuitam daemonum confessionem non leui aestimatione pensare, quia nisi inuisibilibus cruciatibus agerentur, libere utique pro se facilius dicerent quam semper contra se mentirentur.</u>
<p>Sed te miror, formam totius scientie <u>preferentem</u>, Christum deum esse non solum <u>dubitare</u>, sed mortis opprobrio maiestatem ipsius derogando obscurare, cum tu ipse pernoscas <u>uestrorum auctorum uolumina testari eius diuinitatem et crucem quam irridetis proferre; ex quibus interim duorum tibi profero exempla.</u></p> <p>Plato enim, quem doctissimum ac sapientissimum perhibetis, cum de reuelanda Christi maiestate loqueretur, his uerbis etiam signum illius intimauit, futurum astruens deum cuius signum circumrotundatum et decusatum est.</p> <p>Sibille perinde prediuna, ut asseritis, carmina proprietatem sancti nominis personarunt cum, dignitate nature, hec eadem Deum postea uno uersu crucemque signauit (quam uos erroneis disputationibus refutatis), predictum poema ita ponens: “<u>Felix ille deus ligno qui pendet ab alto</u>”.</p> <p>Vide, <u>disputantibus</u> quidem uerbis, expressam utriusque confessionem; ille ‘futurum’ designat quia manifestandum in homine designat, hec ‘felicem’ uocat quia diuinam preuidet in hominis fragilitate</p>	<p>4.4-9</p> <p>4. <u>Sed te miror formam totius scientiae praeferentem</u>, an sit deus Christus vel dei Filius <u>dubitanter</u> inquirere, qui non nescias etiam <u>vestrorum auctorum uolumina testari eius diuinitatem et crucem, quam irridetis, praeferre</u>. Ex quibus interim duorum exempla nunc proferam.</p> <p>5. <u>Plato enim, quem doctissimum ac sapientissimum perhibetis, cum de reuelanda Christi maiestate loqueretur, his verbis etiam signum illius intimavit, futurum adstruens deum, cuius signum circumrotundatum et decusatum est.</u></p> <p>6. <u>Sibyllae perinde praedivina, ut adseritis, carmina, proprietatem sancti nominis personarunt cum dignitate naturae. Haec eadem deum postea uno versu crucemque signavit, quam uos multis disputationibus refutatis, praedictum poema ita ponens: Felix ille deus, ligno qui pendet ab alto.</u></p> <p>7. <u>Vide distantibus</u> quidem uerbis expressam tamen utriusque confessionem. <i>Ille</i>¹³⁶ futurum designat, quia manifestandum in homine sentiebat. 8. <u>Haec felicem</u> vocat, quia diuinam praeuidet</p>

¹³⁶ Feiertag sees in this *ille* a repetition of the *ille* from the verse line in the previous section (he italicized it in his edition to indicate this, and translates: ‘Le mot “ce” le désigne comme futur, parce qu’elle sentait qu’il devait se manifester dans l’humanité’). However, I think that this *ille* refers to Plato, and balances the *haec* which refers to the Sibyl. This balance has been set up by the *utriusque* in the previous sentence.

<p><u>uirtutem et in eiusdem hominis morte uictoriam.</u></p> <p><u>Quos tamen non idcirco sequi conuenit quia his, uelut per somnium, ueram sapientiam loqui aliquando permissum est, neque ut gentilitas ex Deo prescientiam meruisse uideretur, sed ut Christum Deum ac Dei filium etiam uestri loquerentur auctores, qui, cum pene in omnibus falsi sint, in hoc probabilius e[na]rrauerunt.</u></p> <p>Ecce tibi pauca de multis.</p>	<p><u>in hominis fragilitate uirtutem et in eiusdem hominis morte uictoriam.</u></p> <p>9. <u>Quos tamen non idcirco sequi conuenit quia his uelut per somnium ueram sapientiam loqui aliquando permissum est, neque ut gentilitas meruisse ex deo praescientiam uideretur, sed ut deum Christum ac dei Filium etiam uestri loquerentur auctores, qui, cum pene in omnibus falsi sint, in hoc probabiliter errauerunt.</u></p>
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The first question by the philosophers and Katherine’s answer

Apparatus – Vulgate		Apparatus – CZA
controversiae] CODD	1	argutiarum] CODD
non est igitur tam inops fide[s] nostr[a] aut egena [apologia] ut in sui defensione] fidei nostrae CODD apologia] defensio CODD	2	non est igitur tam inops fidei nostrae aut egena defensio ut in sui probatione
at] L, ac CEΘFGJMNAOSΩUY, p.c. W, aut DI	3	ac] CODD
praeferentem] proferentem I	4	praeferentem] CODD
proferre] CODD	5	praeferre] proferre β edd.
<i>Felix ille dues ligno qui pendet ab alto</i>		→ discussed separately, below
disputantibus] disputationum EO, disputationis N	6	distantibus] disputantibus VLT
praescientiam] praesentiam CD	7	praescientiam] praesentiam LT
e[na]rraverunt] erraverunt CODD	8	erraverunt] CODD

1 (Dob. 403; CZA 2.3)

The phrase *vestrarum argutiarum est ista subtilitas* is perhaps an allusion to Tertullian, if not a stock phrase of early Christian apologetic literature.¹³⁷ *Argutia* is a little more refined than *controversia*, although it is by no means rare. The *Vulgate*-author may have thought that the meaning of *controversia* (argument, dispute) fitted the context better than *argutia* (shrewdness, sophistry).

2 (Dob. 421; CZA 5.4)

Non est igitur iam inops fidei nostrae aut egena defensio ut in sui probatione (CZA)

Despite the (unanimous) manuscript evidence, Dobson chose to intervene in the text, because a) he felt the word order was contorted, and b) he thought it unlikely that the

¹³⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Hermogenem*, ch. 27: ‘haec sunt argutiae et subtilitates haereticorum, simplicitatem communium verborum torquentes in quaestionem’.

author would have chosen to repeat *defensio* by *defensione* after only three words.¹³⁸ The parallel with the CZA shows that Dobson was too quick to dismiss the manuscript evidence and that the repetition in the *Vulgate* of *defensione* where the CZA reads *probatione* was perhaps no more than a ‘slip’ of the pen, influenced by *defensio* a couple of words earlier in the sentence.

3 (Dob. 435; CZA 5.5)

While Dobson is certainly right in pointing out that it could sometimes be difficult to distinguish between the letters *t* and *c*, his argumentation for choosing *aut* over the majority reading of *ac* is unconvincing.¹³⁹ The context does not necessarily require an adversarial particle, although *ac* could certainly fulfil that role if one were to translate ‘and yet’. In any case, the source text reads *ac*, on which all its manuscripts and editions agree, so that the reading *ac* in the majority of the *Vulgate*-manuscripts is clearly based on the CZA.

4 & 5 (Dob. 445/449; CZA 4.4)

The abbreviations for *prae*- and *pro*- are easily confused, so that the alternative reading of *proferentem* for *praeferentem* in the *Vulgate* might not be more than just that. However, the infinitive *proferre* in the following sentence may have influenced the scribe of I to write *pro*- instead of *prae*. Having said that, the *Vulgate*’s agreement with a number of the CZA manuscripts as regards the alternative reading of *proferre* against *praeferre* could be an indication that the *Vulgate* is here following the β -branch of the CZA’s transmission.

6 (Dob. 457; CZA 4.6)

It is clear that the *Vulgate* is in agreement with three manuscripts of the β -branch of the CZA when it reads *disputantibus*.

¹³⁸ See Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 289 for his arguments.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

7 (Dob. 458; CZA 4.7)

While the majority of manuscripts of the *Vulgate* agree with the majority of the CZA-manuscripts, two witnesses of each text agree with each other over *praesentiam*. The *lectio difficilior* is *praescientiam*, with *praesentiam* perhaps no more than a misreading by the various scribes in questions. This seems more likely to me than that the *Vulgate*'s C and D are following the CZA's L and T, especially since all the early *Vulgate*-manuscripts offer *praescientiam* instead of *praesentiam*.

8 (Dob. 466; CZA 4.9)

This is another example of Dobson emending against the manuscript evidence because he felt that what stood in the text could not have been what Katherine might have said.¹⁴⁰

Felix ille deus, ligno qui pendet ab alto (Dob. 457; CZA 4.6)

The hexameter line *felix ille deus, ligno qui pendet ab alto*, present in the CZA and taken over into the *Vulgate*, could be the clue as to how the *Vulgate*-author was led to use the anonymous dialogue in his work. The Sibyl and her prophecy is present already in the Greek tradition of Katherine's Passion (B):

ὦ ξύλον τρισμακάριστον ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ἐκτετάνυσται, ὀπτριζομένη τὸ
ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ,¹⁴¹

If the *Vulgate*-author had used the text as preserved in Alessandrina 96 as the model for his composition, the Sibyl and her prophecy perhaps made him think of another text he had read in which she is similarly put forward to strengthen the Christian argument.

¹⁴⁰ See Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 289.

¹⁴¹ Viteau, *Passions*, p. 32.

The second question by the philosophers and Katherine’s answer

<i>Vulgate</i>	<i>CZA Book I</i>
<i>RHETOR</i> (Dob. 480-85)	<i>APOLLONIUS</i>
<p>480</p> <p><u>Si predicta miracula, ut credi iubes, manens in homine Deus prestitit, numquid suscipere et pati crucem debuit? Aut quam ob causam, alios erepturus a morte, ipse etiam morte non caruit? Vel certe quomodo aliis proderit qui sibi prodesse non potuit,</u></p> <p><u>cum in sua liberatione etiam aliis spem liberationis contulisset ?’</u></p>	<p>14.1-2</p> <p>1. <u>Si praedicta miracula, ut credi studes, manens in homine deus praestitit, numquid suscipere et pati crucem voluit? Aut quam ob causam erepturus a morte alios morte non caruit? Vel quemadmodum aliis proderit qui sibi prodesse non potuit?</u></p> <p>2. <u>Cum in hoc magis fidem de se ambigentibus munire debuerit, liberaturum et alios fore, quo hoc primum in sua liberatione monstrasset. Qua in re aut rationem prodi necesse est, aut credulitatem non exigi satis iustum.</u></p>
<i>KATHERINE</i>	<i>ZACCHEUS</i>
<p>485</p> <p><u>Et in hoc etiam estimatio tua fallitur, si in crucis affixione impassibilem Deum passionem doloris et mortis sustinuisse arbitraris. Non enim natura celestis crucis sensit iniuriam, sed assumpte in Deum infirmitas carnis.</u></p> <p><u>Nam, incomprehensibilis et liber ab omni passione, Deus nec pati potuit nec teneri; sed quendam de diabolo per assumptum hominem egit triumphum cum, in ligno materiam carnis imponens, eum sine sui iniuria per hominem superavit qui hominem cum Dei iniuria egerat in delictum.</u></p> <p><u>Homo ergo, non diuinitas, cruci affixus est, et qui peccauerat per lignum fixus in ligno est.</u></p> <p><u>Hec Deo fuit assumendi hominem precipuae ratio uel uoluntas, ut peccatum ab homine contractum per hominem tolleretur, et ab illo fides resurrectionis inciperet quem primum resurgere debuisse constaret.</u></p> <p><u>Potens equidem erat Deus, per angelum</u></p>	<p>14.3-5</p> <p>3. <u>Etiam in hoc aestimatio tua fallitur, ut in crucis adfixione divinitatem credas iniuriam pertulisse, quae incomprehensibilis et libera nec pati potuit, nec teneri. Sed quendam de diabolo per adsumptum hominem egit triumphum, cum in ligno victoriam carnis imponens, eum sine sui iniuria per hominem superavit, qui hominem cum dei iniuria egerat in delictum.</u></p> <p>4. <u>Homo ergo, non divinitas trucidata est. Et qui per lignum peccaverat, fixus in ligno est.</u></p> <p>5. <u>Atque haec deo fuit adsumendi hominem praecipua ratio vel voluntas, ut peccatum ab homine contractum per hominem tolleretur, et ab illo fides resurrectionis inciperet, quem primum resurgere debuisse constaret. Purus enim et ab omni immunis delicto pati pro</u></p>

quemuis aut per aliquam celestem uirtutem, prostrato diabolo hominem eripere, si uoluisset, sed, omnia cum ratione agens, Deus sic modum statuit uictorie ut qui hominem subiugarat per hominem ipse uinceretur.'	omnibus voluit, ut non sola potestate, sed merito omnibus praeferretur.
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The second question by the philosopher and Katherine’s answer

Apparatus – <i>Vulgate</i>		Apparatus – CZA
materiam] CODD (Dob. 491)		victoriam] CODD (CZA 14.3)
cruci affixus] crucifixus S Λ (Dob. 494)		trucidata] trucidanda C, cruci data LT (CZA 14.4)

The reading *cruci affixus* is not merely an alternative to *trucidata*. It is plausible that the *Vulgate*-author was working from a manuscript that carried *cruci data* (such as L T). He emended *data* to *affixus* as this would result in a much better, and the more usual reading.

An examination of the few shared readings between the *Vulgate* and the CZA hints at the possibility that the *Vulgate* was using manuscripts of the β-branch of the CZA. Among them, T (Paris lat. 2667A) and V (variants from a manuscript from Vendôme) come from Northern France: T in particular appears to have been at Fleury, even though it was not written there. In any case, the fact that the *Vulgate*-author used this dialogue implies that it was available to him.

In her study of Clemence of Barking’s twelfth-century Anglo-Norman verse Life of Katherine, Hilligus showed that the *Vulgate*-author had incorporated passages from the CZA into his text.¹⁴² While she clearly set out the parallels between the two texts, she did not consider the implications of her discovery as regards the dissemination of the CZA or the origin of the *Vulgate*.

As is apparent, the *Vulgate*-author only used one book out of three. The explanation for the use of only book 1 lies in the overall structure of the *Consultationes*. In book one Zaccheus expounds the fundamental questions of the Christian faith – in reply to the sorts of questions one might expect from a pagan.¹⁴³ At the end of the book Apollonius converts and confesses his new faith. Books two and three need no longer

¹⁴² A.H. Hilligus, *Die Katharinenlegende von Clemence de Barking: eine anglo-normannische Fassung aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (1996). Her examination of the *Vulgate*, as a preliminary to her main objective of analyzing Clemence’s poem, has gone unnoticed. It was only by coincidence that I came across it, after I had discovered the CZA inside the *Vulgate* myself.

¹⁴³ Such as ‘Why did Jesus have to die? Why was he both human and divine?’

persuade him of the value of Christianity: book 2 explains the concept of the Holy Trinity and makes stabs at Jews, heretics, and Novatians. Book 3 expounds monastic life and its rules. Therefore, the book most suited to the *Vulgate*'s needs is the first one.¹⁴⁴

First, however, I present a brief exploration of the origin of this important source of the *Vulgate*. As Courcelle rightly pointed out, the CZA 'a fait couler beaucoup d'encre.'¹⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century, scholars argued over its provenance at great length, with the date of composition ranging from the middle of the fourth to the end of the fifth century and the country of origin from Africa to Italy and Gaul. In 1916 Dom G. Morin took issue with the attribution of the dialogue to Evagrius by a number of scholars.¹⁴⁶ Instead, he proposed as its author the Sicilian Firmicus Maternus.¹⁴⁷ Morin based his decision mainly on a number of textual similarities between the two works and published the CZA under Firmicus' name.¹⁴⁸ A. Reatz agreed with Morin's dating of the text to the middle of the fourth century, but remained sceptical about Firmicus' authorship.¹⁴⁹ After the publication of Morin's edition, B. Axelson refuted the attribution by showing the textual parallels between Firmicus and the CZA to be insufficient and instead suggested a possible common source.¹⁵⁰ This left the field open for more speculation on the dialogue's date and author.

¹⁴⁴ The only exception to the established pattern is a parallel with Book II, chapter 10.3: this is a quotation from the Bible, Psalms 134.18. This results in 85 hits in the Patrologia Latina Database, and can therefore be considered a widely used verse. There is no particular link between its use in the *Consultationes* and in the *Vulgate*.

¹⁴⁵ P. Courcelle, 'Date, source et genèse des *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 146 (1954), 174-193, p. 174.

¹⁴⁶ Dom. Germain Morin, 'Ein zweites christliches Werk des Firmicus Maternus: Die *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 37 (1916), 229-66.

¹⁴⁷ He was the author of a handbook on astrology called *Mathesis*, written when he was still a pagan in 334/337. After converting to Christianity he composed the *De errore profanarum religionum* in 346/350. *LMA*, s.v. Firmicus Maternus, Iulius.

¹⁴⁸ *I. Firmici Materni: Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*, ed. G. Morin, (1935).

¹⁴⁹ August Reatz, *Das theologische System der Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii, mit Berücksichtigung ihrer angeblichen Beziehung zu J. Firmicus Maternus* (1920).

¹⁵⁰ B. Axelson, 'Ein drittes Werk des Firmicus Maternus?', *Kungliga Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund* (1937-37), 107-32.

F. Cavallera concentrated on the theological and literary value of the CZA and assumed its author was a monk – if the date of composition was 360, then the synthesis of the teachings of the Church and the Scriptures on dogma and ethics is remarkable.¹⁵¹ However, he still argued for a dating to the second half of the fourth century (or 360) due to the numerous allusions in the CZA to specific heresies at that time and its silence on those more prevalent ones at the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century. Rather than asking what the earliest date for the CZA's composition could be, P. Courcelle first sought to establish its *terminus ante quem* (against the datings of Reatz and Cavallera).¹⁵² On the basis of Victor of Vita's use of a passage from the CZA, he fixed this as 489. He supposed the *terminus post quem* to be 409, on the basis of a particular verse from the scriptures, usually applied by the Fathers to confrontations between barbarian kingdoms and the major migrations afflicting the Empire. It could therefore not apply to the reign of Constantius or Maxentius, but rather to that of Honorius, who was deposed by Attalus at the behest of Alaric. The particular context of the phrase, namely famine and anthropophagia, seem to confirm this: such scenes did take place at the siege of Rome in 409.

Courcelle's argumentation for an African author, possibly someone from the circle around Evodius, based on parallels in the correspondence between Augustine and Volusius, was questioned by G.M. Colombás.¹⁵³ On the basis of the content, he concluded that the author was not Evodius or any other African monk – the views on monasticism put forward in the CZA are different to those that prevailed in Africa under the influence of Augustine and his disciples.

Not until J.-L. Feiertag's historical and soteriological study on the CZA did matters come to a rest, although he maintained the hypothetical nature of his findings.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ F. Cavallera, 'Un exposé sur la vie spirituelle et monastique au iv^e siècle', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 16 (1935), 132-146.

¹⁵² P. Courcelle, 'Date, source et genèse des *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 146 (1954), 174-193

¹⁵³ G.M. Colombás, 'Sobre el autor des las *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*', *Studia Monastica* 14 (1972), 7-15.

¹⁵⁴ Jean-Louis Feiertag, *Les Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii: étude d'histoire et de sotériologie* (1990). With regard to the origin of the author he says: '.. il convient de rappeler que la prudence

He agreed with Courcelle's *terminus ante quem*, but posited a *terminus post quem* of 375-80 (rather than the more definite date of 409), because Zaccheus (at CZA II.14) uses an argument for the divinity of the Holy Spirit from the anti-pneumatic debate of that time.¹⁵⁵ As regards location, Feiertag looked for the author in Europe rather than in Africa, because the author appears to be profoundly upset by current political and military events (rather more than an outsider might be). His monastic outlook, together with his views on the Novatians, bring him closer to Europe. The suggestion that the anonymous was part of the spiritual family of Sulpicius Severus is mere speculation, and cannot be substantiated, although P. Maraval thought that it was not impossible.¹⁵⁶

Of the various studies and books written on the CZA, the only one of particular interest to the present discussion is Lawson's short article published in 1947, in which he set out a number of passages (sentences rather than phrases) that Isidore of Seville took from the CZA for his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*.¹⁵⁷ The passages used are from various chapters in books 1 and 2, though this does not prove that Isidore was using the full text rather than a compendium.¹⁵⁸ Lawson also mentioned more or less parallel passages with Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, namely Book I, chapters 3 and 12, which are parallel to CZA II.5 and 4.¹⁵⁹ Isidore's (more definite) use of the CZA is also important: if he was able to adapt from two of the three books of CZA into his own work, he must have had a copy or at least a compendium close at hand or he may have read it. It seems almost a certainty, then, that the *Consultationes* were in circulation in Spain by the sixth/seventh century.

est de règle quand il s'agit de déterminer quel est l'environnement d'un auteur anonyme. Notre démarche propose une combinaison de différents indices qui aboutissent à des vraisemblances, non à des certitudes', Feiertag, *Questions d'un païen*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵ See Feiertag, *Étude d'histoire*, p. 38-57, for a detailed discussion.

¹⁵⁶ See Feiertag, *Étude d'histoire*, p. 125-142, for a detailed discussion. P. Maraval, review of Feiertag's edition in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 76 (1996), 340-41.

¹⁵⁷ A.C. Lawson, 'Consultationes Zacchaei Christiani et Apollonii philosophi: a source of S. Isidore of Seville', *Revue Bénédictine* 57 (1947), 187-195. A convenient list of the parallels can also be found in Christopher M. Lawson's edition of *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis: De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (1989), p. 154.

¹⁵⁸ Lawson, on p. 194-5, also briefly mentions parallels in Isidore's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*.

¹⁵⁹ Written in about 484/9; Victor, who probably witnessed events at Carthage from 480-84, became bishop of Vita (Byzacena, in what is Tunisia now) after 489.

A less certain usage is that by Evagrius, a Gaul who wrote an *Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* in around 430.¹⁶⁰ The evidence for this is given by Gennadius of Marseille (d. 495/505) in his *De viris illustribus* (c. 51):

*Evagrius alius scripsit Altercationem Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani, quae paene omnibus nota est.*¹⁶¹

This mention of Evagrius in the 51st chapter, among a group of authors who lived in the first half of the fifth century, suggests that the latter also belongs within that timeframe.¹⁶² Whether this Evagrius can be identified with the monk Evagrius among the disciples of Martin, mentioned by Sulpicius Severus (*Dialogus* III.1,4; 11.8) is not at all certain.¹⁶³ In any case, the language and style as well as the sources used in the *Altercatio* point towards Gaul, which at the time accommodated Jewish colonies.¹⁶⁴

A (now lost) manuscript from Vendôme (dated to the eleventh/twelfth century) contained the CZA followed by Evagrius' *Altercatio*. This was missing from the codex already in 1853, according to the *Catalogue des mss des departments* (vol. III, p. 454, n. 182). The readings for the CZA were preserved through an edition undertaken at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁵ Bratke's edition of the *Altercatio* provides a list of parallels with other texts, among them the *Consultationes*.¹⁶⁶ The most recent editor of Evagrius, Demeulenaere, also included the CZA (as Ps. Firmicus Maternus) among the authors used by or at least influential on Evagrius, though the parallels cited are fewer in number than Bratke's.¹⁶⁷ I have looked at the passages, and it seems Evagrius took

¹⁶⁰ *Evagrii Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* in Foebadius, Victricius, Leporius, Vincentius Lerinensis, Evagrius, Ruricius, ed. R. Demeulenaere, (1985), p. 233-302.

¹⁶¹ *Hieronymi De viris inlustribus liber: accedit Gennadii Catalogus virorum inlustrum*, ed. W. Herding (1924).

¹⁶² See E. Bratke, 'Epilegomena zur Wiener Ausgabe der *Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 148 (Wien 1904), 1-199 [with a plate of Karlsruhe Bad. LB CCLIII, fol. 101v-102r].

¹⁶³ *DHEG*, s.v. Évagre (2). *Sulpicii Severi libri qui supersunt*, ed. C. Halm (1866).

¹⁶⁴ And anti-Jewish polemics were not exceptional, see Demeulenaere, *Evagrii Altercatio*, p. 235.

¹⁶⁵ *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène & U. Durand (1717), vol. 5, col. 1847-76 (in the same volume they also edited Evagrius' *Altercatio*, the readings of which were used by Demeulenaere).

¹⁶⁶ *Evagrii Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum*, ed. Eduard Bratke, (1904), p. 70-71.

¹⁶⁷ Demeulenaere, *Evagrii Altercatio*, p. 488-89.

inspiration from the CZA as a whole (i.e. all three books): he reproduces Bible quotations and some phrases in a similar order, and he expands a relatively short question-and-answer part from the CZA into a much longer discussion in the *Altercatio*.

If the CZA was written in Northern Africa, its availability in manuscripts of uniquely French provenance is not at all surprising. A huge number of North African texts have survived only in European manuscripts, implying that they had crossed the Mediterranean before the Muslim conquest of Carthage in 697.¹⁶⁸ Gaul and Spain, as well as Italy in particular, are the countries that absorbed and then diffused many of the texts those fleeing the Vandals and Muslims had brought with them.

In summary, the following is known about the CZA:

- Date of composition: between 375-80 (or 409) and 489
- Country of composition: Europe (Gaul?) or North Africa
- Available to: (?) Evagrius – Gaul – fl. 430

Victor of Vita – Africa – s. v^{ex}

Isidore of Seville – Spain – s. vi-vii

The fact that the CZA was available to authors such as Victor of Vita and Isidore of Seville excludes the possibility that the *Vulgate* served as the source-text for the CZA. In addition, none of these authors use the same passages of the CZA as the *Vulgate*-author, which precludes the possibility that he got them from any of these writers. He can only have taken them either from a compendium or from the CZA as a whole. As I have discussed above, all of the manuscripts preserve the full text of the CZA, and book 1 in particular contained the sort of dialogue that fitted with what the *Vulgate*-author intended to achieve in the *Vulgate*.

¹⁶⁸ For an extremely useful study of this phenomenon see Stacey Graham, 'The dissemination of North African Christian and intellectual culture in Late Antiquity' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2005).

3.3 Two Ps.-Augustinian works

A tantalizing question arises regarding the overlap of a couple of phrases between the *Vulgate* and two Ps.-Augustinian works: the *Excerpta ex libris beati Augustini infidelitati Judaeorum obviantia* (*Contra Judaeos*) and the *Liber altercationum Christianae philosophiae contra erroneas et seductiles paganorum philosophorum versutias* (*Contra Philosophos*), which survive respectively in two and one manuscripts.¹⁶⁹ These two disputations rely heavily on the corpus of Augustinian writings.¹⁷⁰ It has been suggested that both were written by the same author, although their dating fluctuates between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. Aschoff, the editor of the *Contra Philosophos*, argued for sixth-century Italy as a likely place of origin.¹⁷¹

In view of the limited knowledge of these texts it is hard to put forward any hypothesis for this curious overlap:

Vulgate	<i>Contra Judaeos</i> ¹⁷²
Hanc pater, ab annis puerilibus, studiis liberalibus imbuendam tradiderat, quibus decenter ornata, tunc temporis <u>nulla sophisticae artis argutia</u> poterat supplantari. (Dob. 86)	Sunt enim plura, quae tibi obiciantur, quibus <u>nulla sophisticae artis argutia</u> , nullis <u>philosophicis dissertationibus</u> , nullis Socraticis aut Platoniciis disputationibus aut etiam <u>Aristotelicis circumplectentibus syllogismis</u> , quibus tuum nimis callet ingenium, ut credo, resisti potest.
<u>Philosophicas Homeri dissertationes et Aristotelis circumplectentes syllogismos</u> , Esculapii quoque et Galieni sagacissimas latentium rerum inventiones, sed et Philistionis cum Platone ceterorumque famosa auctorum volumina reprobavi. (Dob. 355)	

¹⁶⁹ Valencia Biblioteca de la Catedral 253, s. xv^{1/2}, Spain – witness to *Contra Philosophos*. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A 368, s. xv^{2/2}, England – witness to *Contra Philosophos* and *Contra Judaeos*.

¹⁷⁰ Diethard Achoff, 'Studien zu zwei anonymen Kompilationen der Spätantike: Anonymi Contra Philosophos et Contra Judaeos', *SE* 27 (1984), 37-127.

¹⁷¹ On the common authorship see *Anonymi Contra Philosophos*, ed. Diethard Achoff (1975), p. vii-xi. A brief discussion of the date of composition is at p. v-vi. For a fuller discussion of the time-frame see Diethard Aschoff, 'Studien zu zwei anonymen Kompilationen der Spätantike: Zeit, Ort und Verfasserschaft der Kompilationen', *SE* 28 (1985), 35-57.

¹⁷² Aschoff saw in this sentence the author's own composition and used the reference to Aristotle's syllogisms as a departure point for determining the date of composition. See Aschoff, 'Studien', *SE* 28, 80. The *Contra Judaeos* remains unpublished.

Vulgate	Contra Philosophos II.1057
Si quis est in vobis aut <u>Attica eloquentia praeditus</u> aut Latina oratine <u>imbutus</u> , proferat in medium quod animo concepit.	Sum enim <u>Attica eloquentia praeditus</u> ominumque liberalium artium adprime <u>imbutus</u> .

While these two parallels might seem straightforward enough, matters get a little more complicated in another passage. It turns out that there are parallels not only between the *Vulgate*, the *Contra Iudaeos*, and the *Contra Philosophos*, but that the CZA is also ‘implicated’:¹⁷³

CZA	Vulgate (Dob. 149-65)	<i>Contra Philosophos</i> II.44 ¹⁷⁴
Apollonius	Emperor	‘Romanus’
I.1.2 <u>Omnes enim religionum sectas et universos sacrorum ritus rationabilibus manasse primordiis facile intellegas, si diligenter inquiras.</u>	<u>Nos vero non ignoramus omnes religionum sectas et universos sacrorum ritus rationabilibus manasse primordiis; Romani namque principes, iustitia semper et religione mortales omnes preeuntes</u> , totum in leges suas orbem redegerunt. <u>Non ergo vana superstitio</u> ¹⁷⁵ est his uti	<u>Nos Romani non ignoramus omnes religionum sectas et universos sacrorum ritus rationabilibus manasse primordiis. Romani namque circa deorum cultum semper devoti existentes beati prae omnibus populis dici et esse meruerunt. Nam sapientia, religione virtuteque cunctos mortales praeuntes</u> ac ipsum orbem, ut ita dicam, ipsis diis faventibus armis bellicis sub potestate sua redigentes ius diuturni imperii sui perdomitis gentibus terrae marique praetulerunt. <u>Non ergo vana superstitio est his uti caerimoniis,</u>

¹⁷³ Feiertag, the editor of the CZA, did not notice the parallels with the Ps.-Augustinian treatises.

¹⁷⁴ Aschoff referred to this passage as ‘Verfassereigenes’, not realizing that something else is probably going on; see ‘Studien’, SE 27, 117-18.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.187: vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum. Here Evander points out to Aeneas that the cult of Hercules has nothing of the unorthodox about it, and thus sounds like a supporter of Augustus’ religious reforms. *Superstitio* in Vergil is contrasted with *religio* (l. 439) and refers to anything outside the established religious practice, rather than simply

<p><u>Vestrae autem credulitatis secta ita superflua et irrationabilis est ut mihi non nisi per stultitiam recipi posse videatur.</u></p> <p><u>I.1.3 Quid enim tam absurdum et ab humana ratione tam discrepans quam ut Christus, quem dei Filium dicitis, deus et homo pariter idemque credatur; conceptum sine semine virgo pariat, deus nascatur ex femina, per consequentes postea aetatum gradus terreni actus humilitatem cognoscat, sentiat, patiatur et perferat, fixus deinde cruci mortem adeat atque ad extremum mortuus a se suscitetur?</u></p> <p><u>I.1.4 Nec sufficit huius persuasionis auctoribus tam stultae traditioni adgregare consensum, nisi et immortales gentilium deos fastidiosa infestatione condemnent;</u></p> <p>...</p>	<p><u>cerimoniis quibus longa etas religionis auctoritatem dedit, et servata tot seculis fides sequendos nobis monet esse parentes, qui feliciter secuti sunt suos. Vestrae autem credulitatis secta ita superflua et irrationabilis est ut nulli sane mentis recipienda videatur.</u></p> <p><u>Quid enim tam absurdum, et ab humana ratione tam alienum, quam ut Iesum, quem Iudei crucifixerunt, Dei filium asseratis – quem virilis ignara consortii virgo conceperit, conceptum clauso utero peperit; qui a discipulo traditus crucis suspendio interierit, de cruce triduane sepulture moras pertulerit, de sepulchro, resumpto spiritu, surrexerit? Que sane omnia vana et nulli sapienti credibilia habentur.</u></p> <p><u>Nec sufficit vobis tam stulto errori adhibere consensum nisi et immortales deos nostros, solem et lunam, temeraria insectatione condemnetis, quorum benefictio utentes,</u></p> <p>...</p>	<p><u>quibus longa aetas religionis auctoritatem dedit et servata tot saeculis fides sequendos nos monet esse parentes, qui feliciter sunt secuti suos.</u></p> <p><u>Vestrae autem credulitatis secta ita superflua et irrationabilis est, ut nulli sanae mentis recipienda videatur.</u></p> <p><u>Nec sufficit vobis tam stulto errori adhibere consensum, ubi et immortales deos nostros temeraria insectatione condemnetis, quorum virtute et sollertia Romanum regitur, dilatatur et pacatur imperium.</u></p>
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Given that the *Vulgate*-author has already heavily relied on dialogue-style texts, such as Autpert's *Conflictus* and the CZA, it seems likely that the *Contra Iudaeos* and the

'superstition'. See *Virgil: Aeneid Book VIII*, ed. K.W. Gransden, (1976), p. 105; *A commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, P.T. Eden (1975), p. 74.

Contra Philosophos also suffered the same fate, or, more accurately, had the good fortune to have been incorporated into the *Vulgate*, thus adding to our knowledge of their respective transmission. The problem, of course, lies in the overlap between the CZA and the *Contra Philosophos*. But as the dating and origin of the *Contra Judaeos* and the *Contra Philosophos* relies solely on internal evidence, which is also the case for the CZA, I do not see how the matter can be solved conclusively.¹⁷⁶

3.4 Orosius

Last but not least, a look at the beginning of the *Vulgate* adds another text to those used by the *Vulgate*-author and thus brings the number of sources used for more than a phrase to three. The third member of the triad is Orosius’ *Historiarum adversus paganos libri vi*, which has been used to provide the historical setting for the events of Katherine’s Passion.¹⁷⁷

<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 33-44, continuous text)	<i>Orosius</i> Book VII
Tradunt annales historie quod Constantinus, qui gubernacula imperii a patre Constantio suscepit, que uno et triginta annis moderator egregius tenuit, pacem ecclesiis, post decem annos a persecutoribus vexabantur, indulisit.	26.1 Anno ab Urbe condita MLXI, Constantinus tricensimus quartus gubernacula imperii a Constantio patre suscepit, quae uno et triginta annis felicissime tenuit.
	<i>Intervening passages deal with the persecutions suffered by the Christians from Nero until Maximian.</i>
Hic Constantinus cum rem publicam strenue in Galliis procuraret, praetoriani milites Rome Maxentium, Herculi filium, qui privatus in Lucania morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt.	28.5 Constantino in Gallis strenuissime rempublicam procurante, praetoriani milites Romae Maxentium, filium Herculi, qui privatus in Lucania morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt
Inde inter Constantinum et Maxentium bellum civile exortum est. Maxentius, siquidem prelio fugatus, Alexandriae	28.15-16 Constantinus pacem ecclesiis post decem annos quam a persecutoribus vexabantur indulisit. Deinde inter Constantinum et

¹⁷⁶ I would welcome suggestions on references to or occurrences of the *Contra Judaeos* and the *Contra Philosophos* in other manuscripts or historical sources.

¹⁷⁷ Orose, *Histoires (contre les Païens)*, vols. 1-3, ed. & tr. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (1990-91).

partibus sese recepit.	<u>Maxentium bellum civile exortum est.</u> <u>Maxentius</u> , saepe multis <u>proeliis</u> <u>fatigatus</u> , ultime ad pontem Mulvium victus et interfectus est.
Audiens autem Constantinum intra Illiricum sinum bellis undique consurgentibus detineri	28.17 Maximinus, persecutionis Christianorum incentor exsecutorque infestissimus, apud Tharsum, dum civile bellum contra Licinium disponit, interiit.
ipse, <u>repentina rabie incitatus</u> , ecclesiam Christi zelo idolatrie persequi instituit et ad profana sacrificia Christianos aut premiis aut tormentis incurvare.	28.18 Licinius, <u>repentina rabie suscitatus</u> , omnes Christianos e palatio suo iussit expelli.

The concentration on chapters 26 and 28 from Book VII is explained by the contents of those chapters, which deal with the time when many of the first Christian martyrs found their deaths. Thus the *Vulgate*-author not only sought to historicize Katherine's Passion, but he also ranged her among the early martyrs of the Christian Church. This use of historical accounts, and of Orosius in particular, which started in the tenth century, is typical of saints' lives whose existence was in doubt; at the same time it was a means of imbuing the text with learning.¹⁷⁸ The historian who looks to the *Vulgate* for any other historical references will be disappointed: all persons and episodes are typical of hagiographic accounts and only allow insight into the author's preoccupations with theological debate and with portraying Katherine as an edifying example.

¹⁷⁸ See M. Goulet, 'Écriture et réécriture dans l'hagiographie latine du haut Moyen Age', vol. 2 (2001), p. 226-27 – there is no reference to Katherine. (This thesis for habilitation has recently appeared in a revised version as *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques* (2005): the reference to Orosius has been omitted). Passages from Orosius' seventh book (but not the passage here under consideration) have been incorporated into the accounts of the following saints, without actually making reference to the source: Helena BHL 3772 – various parallels; Genulphus BHL 3358 – chapter 2; Marcella BHL 5222 – chapter 4; Patroclus BHL 6521 – chapter 2; Theodorus BHL 8086 – introduction. In the Life of Salaberga (BHL 7463), the author does name his source: '*nam cum illo in tempore gens Baïcariorum, quam Orosius vir eruditissimus et historiarum cognitor Boïos prisco vocabulo appellat*'; MGH SSRM 5, p. 51, l. 2. In the prologue to Walafrid Strabo's Life of St Gallus *scriptores authenticos* refers to Orosius and Solinus (I owe this reference to Monique Goulet).

After stating that Constantine the son of Constantius was emperor in Gaul, but before he proceeds with historical events, Orosius interposes an account of the ten persecutions which the Christian Church suffered from the time of Nero until Maximian. After this tour de force he returns to the time of Constantine ruling in Gaul, when Maxentius the son of the anti-Christian Maximian (Herculius) was proclaimed emperor in Rome (in 306). There follows a quick summary of Herculus' actions. We then learn that Licinius and Maximinus Daia join the emperors Constantine and Maxentius in government. From Orosius' account it is clear that Constantine is a Christian emperor and that Maximinus and Licinius indulge in persecutions of Christians. He remains silent on the allegiance of Maxentius, who followed pagan rites but initially tolerated the Christians.

The result of the incorporation of Orosius into the *Vulgate* is threefold:

- a) *Maxentius saepe multis proeliis fatigatus* is adapted into the *Vulgate* word for word, except for *fatigatus*. This is changed to *fugatus* and thus in a subtle way moves from the historical to the fictional. Orosius' *fatigatus* is a signpost for Maxentius' death at the Milvian Bridge, while *fugatus* gives him the opportunity (with the help of the *Vulgate*-author) to flee to Alexandria.
- b) Alexandria falls within the jurisdiction of Maximinus, whose position in the *Vulgate* is filled by Maxentius. The civil war between Maximinus and Licinius is changed into uprisings that detain Constantine in Illyria.
- c) This gives Maxentius the opportunity to engage in the persecutions of Christians in words describing the actions of Licinius: *repentina rabie suscitatus*.

Having thus set the scene, the *Vulgate*-author is free to proceed with his account of events: Maxentius sends an edict summoning everyone to his court at Alexandria for a public sacrifice – and this is where the story really begins.¹⁷⁹

The *Vulgate*-author has junked historical events in order to simplify things and to create a juxtaposition between Constantine, famously the first Christian emperor, and the anti-Christian emperor Maxentius. This choice of Maxentius is slightly odd:

¹⁷⁹ A Biblical parallel, albeit incongruous, is Luke 2.1.

Maximinus is normally the favourite figure employed as a persecutor of Christians.¹⁸⁰ But the Katherine-tradition, as far as can be gleaned from the texts so far available, clearly indicates Maxentius as the evil tyrant. The only accounts that differ from this are the Menologium Basilianum and the Montecassino account.¹⁸¹

Orosius' histories were used as a universal text-book, 'and no monastic, school, or university library could afford to be without a copy'.¹⁸² An indication of its popularity can be seen in the surviving 245 manuscripts.¹⁸³ The earliest manuscripts, from the sixth to the eight centuries mainly come from Irish foundations in northern Italy and France.¹⁸⁴ Anyone writing a saints' life during the ninth/tenth centuries in the Latin West would have had access to a copy of Orosius. Arnaud-Lindet distinguished three groupings within the manuscript tradition, but the Vulgate does not seem to be following a particular one (there are no decisive readings in either apparatus to allow a 'rapprochement').

3.5 The process of epitomization

The presence of these three major sources in the *Vulgate* also enable a firm conclusion about the development of the epitomes, particularly the one with the BHL tag 1663a.¹⁸⁵ This version was identified first by Knust as an abbreviation of the *Vulgate*: by comparing the texts side by side he concluded that the shorter one was an abbreviation

¹⁸⁰ See the index in Mombritus *Sanctuarium*, vol. 2, p. 804 and compare it with the entry on Maxentius. The AASS database yields 473 hits for Maximinus, and 183 for Maxentius.

¹⁸¹ The Menologium Basilianum is in fact a luxury-manuscript of the Constantinopolitan synaxarium, while the Montecassino account starts with an historical introduction of its own – an historical account that sticks to the facts.

¹⁸² D.J.A. Ross, 'Illustrated Manuscripts of Orosius', *Scriptorium* 9 (1955), 35.

¹⁸³ J.M. Batley & D.J.A. Ross, 'A Check list of Manuscripts of Orosius' "Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem", *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 329-34. The *Histories* was also abbreviated many times and translated into Old English or Arabic, for example. The list of manuscripts is available online: http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/orosius_history.htm.

¹⁸⁴ For a detailed description of the early manuscripts see Arnaud-Lindet, *Orose*, p. lxx-lxxx; *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, ed. Carolus Zangemeister (1882), also provides descriptions on p. vi-xviii. Orosius was available at Fécamp, Le Bec, St Evroul and Lyre in the twelfth century, see Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁵ The addition of the letter 'a' to the number 1663 establishes a relationship between the two texts: 1663a is subordinate to 1663.

of the longer one, although he gave no reasons for assuming the *Vulgate* to be the original.¹⁸⁶ Serious doubts about this relationship were advanced by Auvo Kurvinen, who argued that the reverse was true: 1663a was the original and the longer *Vulgate* was its amplification.¹⁸⁷ Her argumentation centred on the fact that the passages not present in 1663 ‘add little or nothing to the story’.¹⁸⁸ They contain wordy speeches, descriptive detail or duplicate descriptions. This argumentation is no substitute for philological evidence, such as for example the use of sources. After editing both versions, Dobson came to the conclusion that the *Vulgate* was indeed the original and 1663a – the ‘shorter *Vulgate*’ – its epitome.¹⁸⁹

A brief examination of the epitome 1663a reveals that, like the *Vulgate*, it also contains the historical introduction, based on Orosius, as well as a number of remnants from the CZA and the *Conflictus*. The text of the epitome is that of the 1663 – I have not included the variants from Dobson’s apparatus as the aim here is to show only which passages have been cut. A snippet of Orosius (underlined) survives introduction:

1663a	<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 36-44)
Hic <u>Constantinus cum rem publicam strenue in Galliis procuraret, pretoriani milites Rome Maxentium, Herculii filium, qui privatus in Lucania morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt.</u>	Hic <u>Constantinus cum rem publicam strenue in Galliis procuraret, pretoriani milites Rome Maxentium, Herculii filium, qui privatus in Lucania morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt.</u> <u>Inde inter Constantinum et Maxentium bellum civile exortum est.</u> <u>Maxentius</u> , siquidem <u>prelio fugatus</u> , Alexandriae partibus sese recepit; audiens autem Constantinum intra Illiricum sinum bellis undique consurgentibus detineri, ipse, <u>repentina rabie incitatus</u> , ecclesiam Christi zelo idolatrie persequi instituit et ad profana sacrificia Christianos aut premiis aut tormentis incurvare.
Ipse, <u>repentina rabie incitatus</u> , ecclesiam Christi zelo idolatrie persequi instituit et ad profana sacrificia Christianos aut premiis aut tormentis incurvare.	

¹⁸⁶ Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden*, p. 17-18: ‘[eine] Bearbeitung, vielleicht richtiger [ein] Auszuge des Hauptrepräsentanten unserer Legende’.

¹⁸⁷ Auvo Kurvinen, ‘The source of Capgrave’s Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 61 (1960), 270.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 271.

¹⁸⁹ Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. xix-xxi.

Short passages from the CZA (underlined) can be seen to have made it into the epitome:

1663a	Vulgate (Dob. 113-116 + 132-134)
[beginning of Katherine's first speech] Hunc temeritas humana in nullo perniciosius offendit quam ut rationalis creatura rebus insensibilibus cultum divinitatis exhibeat et honorem invisibilis maiestatis ad visibiles transferat creaturas.	[beginning of Katherine's first speech] Hunc temeritas humana in nullo perniciosius offendit quam ut rationalis creatura rebus insensibilibus cultum divinitatis exhibeat et honorem invisibilis maiestatis ad visibiles transferat creaturas.
No intervening text as a result of omission	Intervening text based on CZA bk 1, chapters 29.11, 25.16, 25.3-5, 29.19
<u>Dii ergo non sunt plures sed unus nascentium et viventium formator</u> est Deus, qui, <u>sicut omnia</u> creavit, ita <u>imperio</u> suo omnia coerces atque disponit.	<u>Dii ergo non sunt plures, sed unus nascentium et viventium formator</u> est Deus, qui, <u>sicut omnia</u> creavit, ita <u>imperio</u> suo omnia coerces atque disponit. (CZA 25.18)

1663a	Vulgate (Dob. 396-405)
Cui rhetor: 'Si Deus,' inquit, 'ut asseris, aut Dei filius erat, mori quomodo potuit? Si homo, mortem superare quomodo prevaluit?	Cui rhetor: 'Si Deus,' inquit, 'ut asseris, aut Dei filius erat, mori quomodo potuit? Si homo, mortem superare quomodo prevaluit? Hoc plance contra totius mundi rationem et legem nature esse constat, ut immortalis mori possit et legem mortis vincere queat mortalis. Cum utique, et si, aliquo modo concedatur ut deus aut homo debeat predicari, certum sit alterutrum fieri posse, simul utrumque esse non posse.
Cui virgo respondit: ' <u>Vestre</u> , ut video, controversie hec <u>est subtilitas</u> , ut, in eo quod <u>credere</u> non vultis, <u>recepta parte</u> una, quod integrum est <u>subruatis</u> :	Cui virgo respondit: ' <u>Vestre</u> , ut video, controversie hec est subtilitas, ut, in eo quod credere non vultis, recepta parte una, quod integrum est <u>subruatis</u> :

1663a	Vulgate (Dob. 429-40, text corrected on basis of CZA)
Mors itaque non Christum, sed in se Christus mortem occidit.	Mors itaque non Christum, sed in se Christus mortem occidit. <u>Non est igitur iam inops fidei nostre aut egena defensio, ut in sui defensione externis tantum innitatur testimoniis. Tu</u>

<u>Igitur, si fidei nostre credulitatem derogatis, diis saltem vestris credite aut, si ulterius pudor non est, negent certe homines quod etiam demones confitentur.</u>	<u>autem, si adhuc incredulus dubitas, audi immundos demoniorum spiritus, quibus divinitatis attribuitis – audi inquam, sub huius vocabuli invocatione conterritos, Christum Deum et Dei filium non negare ac, velut reos cum tormenta seviunt questionum, non quod placeat dicere sed quod extorquetur. Igitur, si fidei nostre credulitatem derogatis, diis saltem vestris credite aut, si ulterius pudor non est, negent certe homines quod etiam demones confitentur.</u>
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And finally, some of Autpert’s *Conflictus* (underlined):

1663a	<i>Vulgate</i> (Dob. 783-800)
<u>Mundus iste velut carcer est tenebrosus, in quo nullus ita nascitur ut non moriatur;</u> illa superna patria, pro qua fit mundi contemptus, velut civitas est, sole numquam indigens, <u>ubi nulla turbat adversitas, molestia nulla inquietat, sed perennis letitia,</u> felicitas regnat sempiterna.	<u>Mundus iste velut carcer est tenebrosus, in quo nullus ita nascitur ut non moriatur;</u> illa superna patria, pro qua fit mundi contemptus, velut civitas est, sole numquam indigens, <u>ubi nulla turbat adversitas, nulla necessitas angustat, molestia nulla inquietat, sed perennis letitia,</u> iocunditas eterna, felicitas regnat sempiterna. <u>Si quaeris, quid ibi sit, ubi tanta et talis beatitudo perstitit, aliter dici non potest nisi, quicquid boni est, ibi est et quicquid mali est, nusquam est.</u>
[cuts the rest of the speech and retains only the last sentence:] Parva quidem sunt que dico ad ea que visu et rerum veritate experieris si fidelis usque in finem usque in finem perseveraveris.’	[speech continues to use the <i>Conflictus</i> , and end thus:] Parva quidem sunt que dico ad ea que visu et rerum veritate experieris si fidelis usque in finem usque in finem perseveraveris.’

All this is firm evidence for Dobsons’ conclusion: anyone expanding the ‘shorter Vulgate’ into the *Vulgate* would not go to the trouble of also expanding the literary sources. Rather, the epitomizer of the *Vulgate* cut whatever seemed dispensable and repetitive to him. In doing so, he displayed his unawareness of the sources in the *Vulgate*, a testimony to the *Vulgate*-authors ingenuity at weaving them into his text.

Conclusion

After this tour-de-force, it is opportune to reflect on the evidence gathered in this chapter.

1. The use of such disparate words as *celeranter*¹⁹⁰ and *tarinca*, and their localization in the North of France, points to an author who was working in that same area.
2. The fact that Katherine's *T&M* were in all likelihood composed by someone other than the *Vulgate*-author, in combination with the fact that their author used two phrases unique to the *Vulgate*, implies that the composition of the *Vulgate* preceded that of the *T&M*. Seeing that the period between 1054 and 1090 has been suggested as a likely date for the composition of the *T&M*, it follows that the *Vulgate* came into existence before that period.
3. The *Vulgate*-author had read or at his disposal the sermon collections of Eusebius Gallicanus and Petrus Chrysologus, as well as Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. Like other hagiographers, he had a predilection for Psalm 113, which talks about those pagans who worship idols. A small but significant echo of the Rule of St Benedict could points towards a Benedictine monk.
4. The incorporation of a significant passage from the *Vulgate* into the Life of Amalberga furnishes the former with another *terminus ante quem*: Amalberga's Life was written in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century, in other words 1075-1100, at the monastery of Lobbes. Seeing that Amalberga was a relatively new saint in comparison to Katherine and less well-known (as is evident from the manuscript evidence), it is probable that the *Vulgate* served as a model to the Life of Amalberga, rather than the other way round.
5. The *Vulgate*-author made use of three more or less apologetic texts in his account of Katherine's Passion: Orosius' *Histories*, the anonymous *CZA*, and Autpert's *Conflictus*. While Orosius' and Autpert's works experienced a significant manuscript diffusion, the same cannot be said for the *CZA*. It survives in only a handful of tenth-century manuscripts from France, two of which passed

¹⁹⁰ Not included in *Latinitatis italicae Medii aevi lexicon: saec. V ex. – saec. XI in.*, ed. F. Arnaldi et al. (2001).

through Fleury in the North of France. This interest in an otherwise unknown text in tenth-century France might have something to do with the monastic reform movement kick-started by Cluny. It is plausible that the kind of exchange between Zaccheus and Apollonius could have appealed to the reformers: book 3 of CZA in particular talks about monastic life and its rules. Perhaps, then, the *Vulgate* can be seen as displaying the kind of religious fervour that was widespread at the time: 'La ferveur religieuse issue du mouvement de réforme gagnant du terrain, l'idéal de sainteté reprit vigueur. Les idéaux de l'*ecclesiae primitivae forma* et de la *vita apostolica* se firent jour, entraînant la réforme et la création d'abbayes'.¹⁹¹

6. The incorporation of passages from the *Conflictus* into the *Vulgate* furnish the latter with a *terminus post quem* of 784, the year of Autpert's death.
7. On the basis of the presence of sources in the *Vulgate* it is possible to determine the process of epitomization it underwent: BHL 1663a retains snippets of all three sources, so that its dependence on the *Vulgate* is confirmed, and thus establishes the *Vulgate* as the original text from which all other epitomes descend.

The study of the text of the *Vulgate* has already yielded clues both for its geographical and chronological context. An equally careful study of the manuscripts, in particular of the earliest witnesses, can reveal the plausibility of the conclusions arrived at on the basis of the text alone. I propose to do this in the following chapter.

¹⁹¹ 'Gallia du Nord et de l'Ouest: les provinces ecclésiastiques de Tours, Rouen, Reims (950-1130)', in *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 2, ed. Guy Philippart (1994), p. 239-290, esp. 245

Timeline & geography

c. 375-489	<i>Consultationes Zacchei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi</i>	Africa/Europe
	Diffusion:	France
784	Death of Ambrose Autpert = <i>terminus post quem</i>	Benevento
	Diffusion:	Bavaria
		France
8 th /9 th cents.	<i>tarinca</i>	N. France
826/28	Ermoldus Nigellus uses <i>celeranter</i> (2x)	France
845-55	Milo of St Amand uses <i>celeranter</i> (5x)	N. France
c. 840-50	John the Scot uses <i>celeranter</i>	France
c. 1001-1091	Miracles of St Ouen use <i>celeranter</i> and <i>barbarizare</i>	N. France
1054-1090	<i>T&M</i> = <i>terminus ante quem</i>	N. France
1075-1100	Life of St Amalberga = <i>terminus ante quem</i>	Lobbes

CHAPTER 4

An overview of the manuscript tradition of the *Vulgate*

This chapter looks at the manuscript tradition of the *Vulgate* from a number of angles: on the basis of the 250+ extant manuscripts of the *Vulgate* we can get an idea of the popularity Katherine enjoyed during the Middle Ages.¹ The fact that, in large part, the manuscripts that we have today are survivors of fires, wars, and daily usage over the years further illustrates how popular the *Vulgate* was, especially in comparison with the other available accounts of Katherine's Life. The only other version extant in more than a handful of manuscripts is that produced by the subdeacon Peter in Naples in the course of the tenth century, of which at least 20 extant manuscripts survive.

Out of the total of 260 manuscripts that preserve the *Vulgate* and its derivatives, only four were written before 1100.² A close examination of the earliest witnesses is not only useful, but imperative. The date and provenance of the manuscripts can add further pieces to the still incomplete puzzle of where and when the *Vulgate* was composed. Following this analysis, I briefly look at the dissemination of the total number of manuscripts, and show the difficulties in classifying the huge number of epitomes. The chapter ends with a check-list of manuscripts of the *Vulgate*, followed by a brief discussion of an eleventh-century epitome of the *Vulgate*.

¹ This popularity is confirmed by her inclusion in all of the thirteenth-century legend-collections known as *Novae Legendae* (see Philippart, *Les Légendiers Latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, p. 24) put together by Dominican authors. The most famous among them was Iacopo da Varazze's *Legenda Aurea* (BHL 1667), extant in more than 900 manuscripts (see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 1), as well as those of Bartolomeo da Trento (BHL 9033), Jean de Mailly (BHL 9034), Rodrigo da Cerrato (BHL 9035m), Peter Calo (BHL 9039), and also Vincent de Beauvais.

² Cambrai MB 863 was written in the eleventh century, but fol. 263-278 are a twelfth-century addition. Cambridge Fitzwilliam McClean 100 was written in the tenth century, but the folios containing Katherine (fol. 149-161 at the very end) are a twelfth-century addition. Trier StaB 388/1152 2o was written in the eleventh century, but the folios containing the text of Katherine (fol. 116v + 117-118v) were written in a twelfth-century hand, and are a later addition.

1. The eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Vulgate*

Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 121 (113)

fol. 274-280, s. xi, Saint-Nicolas/Angers

Lectionarium

Parchment, 289 folios, 335 x 240 mm (275 x 190 mm), 2 cols, 31 lines, rubrics for initials.

Contents:³

Saints' lives from December – January, all divided into readings.

Date and provenance:

On the basis of its content, Vezin argued that this manuscript was copied for the abbey of St Nicolas at Angers.⁴ Nicolas is the only saint whose name is highlighted in vermilion throughout the text and traced in larger letters ahead of the text.⁵ Vezin also pointed out that the translation of St Nicolas at fol. 157-166v is a later addition to the manuscript, to be dated after 1052: fol. 162v-166v contain the account of the translation of Nicolas' arm which took in place in 1052 under Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou. The same scribe also transcribed fol. 235-253v and 276-280v.⁶ Fol. 68v-72 contain the translation of St Nicolas of Myra to Bari in 1087 - this hand seems a little later than those of the original manuscript and the first addition (at fol. 162v-166v) which allows dating of the original and the first addition before 1087, and perhaps even before 1052

³ For a detailed list of the contents see J. v.d. Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers* (1982), p. 199-213.

⁴ Saints such as Aubin, Lezin, Maurus, Maurillus, Mauricius and above all Nicolas. Previously, Jones identified this manuscript as one of the three lectionaries under entry no. 139 in his study of the 12th-century library catalogue of St Aubin at Angers. See Leslie W. Jones, 'The Library of St Aubin's at Angers in the Twelfth Century', in *Classical and Mediaeval studies in honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. Leslie Webber Jones (1938), p. 159: 'The most likely possibility here is Angers 121 (s. xi), Lectionary, St Aubin'. In any case, the Angers-provenance is secure.

⁵ Jean Vezin, *Les Scriptoria d'Angers au xi siècle* (1974), p. 76.

⁶ Vezin, *Les Scriptoria*, p. 76.

for the original.⁷ Towards the end of the manuscript there are also additions in several twelfth-century hands.⁸

For the Katherine account this results in the following: fol. 276-280v can be dated to the period between 1052 and 1087 (see plate 2). A look at fol. 274-275v reveals that they were transcribed by a hand from the first half of the twelfth century (see plate 1). The most likely explanation for the change of hand is that a) someone had erased so much of the text that it was easiest to simply recopy it, or b) the original leaves were damaged and needed to be replaced. Given that it looks like the writing has been retraced at the bottom of fol. 274vab, and that at that same place parts of the text have been crossed out (for erasure?) it is likely that fol. 274-275v are supply-leaves.

The Benedictine abbey of St Nicolas was founded in 1020 by Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou. The church was consecrated in 1020 by Bishop Hubert, who installed monks from Marmoutiers at the monastery. In 1033, Nerra replaced them with monks from St Aubin.⁹

St Katherine:

Text = no prologue, abbreviated version.

Divided into 12 readings.

This epitome shares a number of errors with the eleventh-century manuscript from Vendôme (Paris lat. 5343, see below), but not all of them. It does not share any errors with the two other eleventh-century manuscripts from Fécamp and Lobbes (see the discussion as an appendix to this chapter on p. 238-57).

⁷ *Catalogue des Manuscrits en écriture Latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*: vol. 7: *Ouest de la France et Pays de Loire*, ed. Denis Muzerelle et al. (1994), p. 19.

⁸ J. v.d. Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques*, p. 212-12; Vezin, *Les Scriptoria*, p. 76.

⁹ *DHGE*, s.v. Angers St Nicolas. The benedictine abbey of St Aubin was founded in 966 by Geoffroy Grisegonelle, count of Anjou, near a sixth-century church built by St Germain of Paris c. 535. The relics of St Clair, the first bishop of Nantes, were taken there in 878. See Cottineau I, col. 101.

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 18018

fol. 25v-37, s. xi, Lobbes

Lectionarium

Parchment, 194 folios, 312 x 223 mm, 2 cols, 40 lines, rubrics for titles and initial letters.

Date and provenance:

A twelfth-century note in the margin at the top of fol. 56 reads: *laubiensis mona...*¹⁰ This refers to the Benedictine abbey of St Peter at Lobbes, founded in c. 654 by St Landelin. It lay within the diocese of Cambrai.¹¹

Gilissen identified the hand of the scribe Goderan on fol. 25v-26.7.¹² Goderan left Lobbes for the abbey of Stavelot in 1093.¹³ The rest of Katherine's Passion was transcribed by the 'scribe of the passionary of Lobbes' (see plates 3 & 4).¹⁴

¹⁰ Léon Gilissen, *L'expertise des Écritures médiévales: recherche d'une methode avec application à un manuscrit du xi^e siècle: le lectionnaire de Lobbes, Codex Bruxellensis 18018* (1973), p. 7.

¹¹ Cottineau I, col. 1632. The LMA, s.v. Lobbes, gives the foundation date as c. 660/670. Landelin is also said to have founded the abbey of Aulne. Heriger of Lobbes (d. 1007) was perhaps Lobbes' most famous offspring. Before he became abbot in 990 he had been the *scholasticus* at its school. In 989 he travelled to Rome as a companion to Bishop Notger of Liège. A number of hagiographical works are due to his authorship: 'Vita secunda Remacii Stabulensis' [BHL 7115-17], 'Vita tertia metrica Ursuari Lobbiensis' [BHL 8419], 'Vita, translationes, miracula Landoaldi, Landradae et sociorum' [BHL 4700], and perhaps the 'Vita Hadelini' [BHL 3733]. LMA, s.v. Heriger 1 H.

¹² At the end of the eleventh century, Goderan was one of the two scribes who signed the Stavelot Bible (London BL Add. 28106 and 28107), written in 1097, and the Lobbes Bible (Tournai, Grand Sem. 1), written in 1084, as well as a manuscript of Flavius Josephus (Bruxelles BR II.1179), written before 1105, see Gilissen, *L'expertise des Écritures médiévales*, p. 7, and also Emile Brouette, 'Le plus ancien manuscrit de la *Vita Beggae* œuvre inconnue de Goderan de Lobbes', *Scriptorium* 16 (1962), 81.

¹³ Following the colophon in the Stavelot Bible, which indicates that it took Goderan and his colleague Ernestus four years to write it and that they finished working on the two volumes in 1097, s.v. Goderannus in ALBK.

¹⁴ So called because this scribe transcribed the greater part of this manuscript. The same hand transcribed another passionary from Lobbes, Bruxelles BR 14924-34. See Gilissen, *L'expertise des Écritures médiévales*, p. 9, and also p. 10 where a table of the scribes of this manuscript can be found.

Contents:¹⁵

Saints' lives.

St Katherine:

BHL 1663 – *Vulgate* with prologue (although it lacks Dob. 96-187, due to a missing leaf between fol. 26 and 27).

Used by Dobson, siglum G.¹⁶

¹⁵ For a detailed list of the contents see *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, vol. 1.2 (1889), p. 414-19, where the call-mark is erroneously given as 18108.

¹⁶ Who also gives the call-mark as 18108, and followed the catalogue in dating it s. xiiⁱⁿ. Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 133.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1970

fol. 54-70v, s. xi, La Trinité de Fécamp

Miscellaneous

Parchment, 153 folios, 255 x 165 mm, coloured initials, rubrics, incipits written in capital letters.

Date and provenance:

This manuscript appears in the eleventh- and twelfth-century catalogues from Fécamp, as well as in the 13th-century *ordinarium*.¹⁷

The Benedictine abbey of the Trinity at Fécamp was a Merovingian establishment, founded in c. 664. In 842 (or 876) it was destroyed by the Normans, but restored and given over to regular canons under Richard I, who had in fact been born there. In 1001, Richard II called in the reformer William of Volpiano, who was then based at St Bénigne in Dijon. He arrived with twelve monks and quickly set about transforming Fécamp into an intellectual centre, with an active scriptorium, school, and library – the twelfth-century catalogue lists 176 volumes.¹⁸ Richard also assigned him to St Ouen in Rouen (1006?), Jumièges (1015), and Mont St Michel (1023).¹⁹

In William we have an Italian and therefore a possible channel for the arrival of Katherine in Normandy. Even if he himself did not bring the story with him, he still maintained his connections with Italy.

¹⁷ François Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *RHT* 9 (1979), 190. See also G. Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 9-10 and p. 235. The eleventh-century catalogue is on fol. 55v of Rouen U.45, and the twelfth-century catalogue on fol. 180 of Paris lat. 1928.

¹⁸ *DHGE*, s.v. Fécamp. Volpiano's successor, John of Ravenna, was a friend and councillor of William the Conqueror. Following the successful invasion of England in 1066, the new king bestowed a number of English fiefdoms on Fécamp, and appointed a number of its monks as bishops and abbots in England.

¹⁹ *LMA*, s.v. Wilhelm v. Volpiano.

Contents:²⁰

A combination of treatises written by Augustine (*Super epistolam Iohannis*), Bede (*De Tabernaculo*), S. Maximinus of Tours (*Sermones de S. Laurentio*), and the Passion of St Katherine.

St Katherine:

BHL 1663 – *Vulgate* with prologue

Used by Dobson, siglum M.

²⁰ *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, ed. Ph. Lauer, vol. 2 (nos. 1439-2692) (1940), p. 263, where the date is given as s. xii.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5343

fol. 135-137v + 140-148v, s. xi, La Trinité de Vendôme

Legendarium

Parchment, 156 folios (fol. 110 *bis*), 290 x 200 mm, several hands (s. xi and xii [xii = fol. 84-91 and 103-116]) (see plates 5 & 6).

Date and provenance:

The Benedictine abbey of the Trinity at Vendôme was founded in 1034 by Geoffroy, count of Angers, and his wife Agnes. The church was consecrated in 1040 or 1060.²¹

This legendary used to belong to Philibert de la Mare (1615-87), and then became part of the Royal library (C.41894.). It contains the (rare) Life of Reverentius (BHL 7199).²²

Contents:²³

Saints' lives

St Katherine:

BHL 1663 – *Vulgate* with prologue.

Used by Dobson, siglum O.

²¹ Cottineau II, col. 3317.

²² Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs', 203.

²³ *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum antiquiorum saeculo xvi qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani, vol. 2 (1890), p. 269-70.

Finally, a manuscript which has been assigned to the eleventh-twelfth centuries is Bern BB 133.²⁴ It entered the Burgerbibliothek via the collection formed by Jacques Bongars (d. 1612), a French scholar and diplomat who had acquired a great number of manuscripts from French monasteries during the Huguenot wars.²⁵ While the provenance of Bern 133 is not confirmed, it is possible that it is French. The presence of a passion of Thomas of Canterbury at the end of the codex (fol. 128-130v) suggests that this text, at least, was added during the twelfth century. Most of the saints in this manuscript are more or less universal, although St Benignus of Dijon (fol. 63v-6v, just in front of Katherine) gives it a French flavour, along with the passion of Aegidius (St Giles, Provence; fol. 58v-63v).²⁶

To sum up, we have from the eleventh century three witnesses to the *Vulgate*, including the prologue, and one witness to an abbreviated version. The dates of (likely) copying at each provenance are as follows:

Angers: 1052 – 1087

Fécamp: 1000 – 1100

Lobbes: 1075 – 1100

Vendôme: 1034- 1100.

Geographically, the dissemination of these four manuscripts can be represented thus:

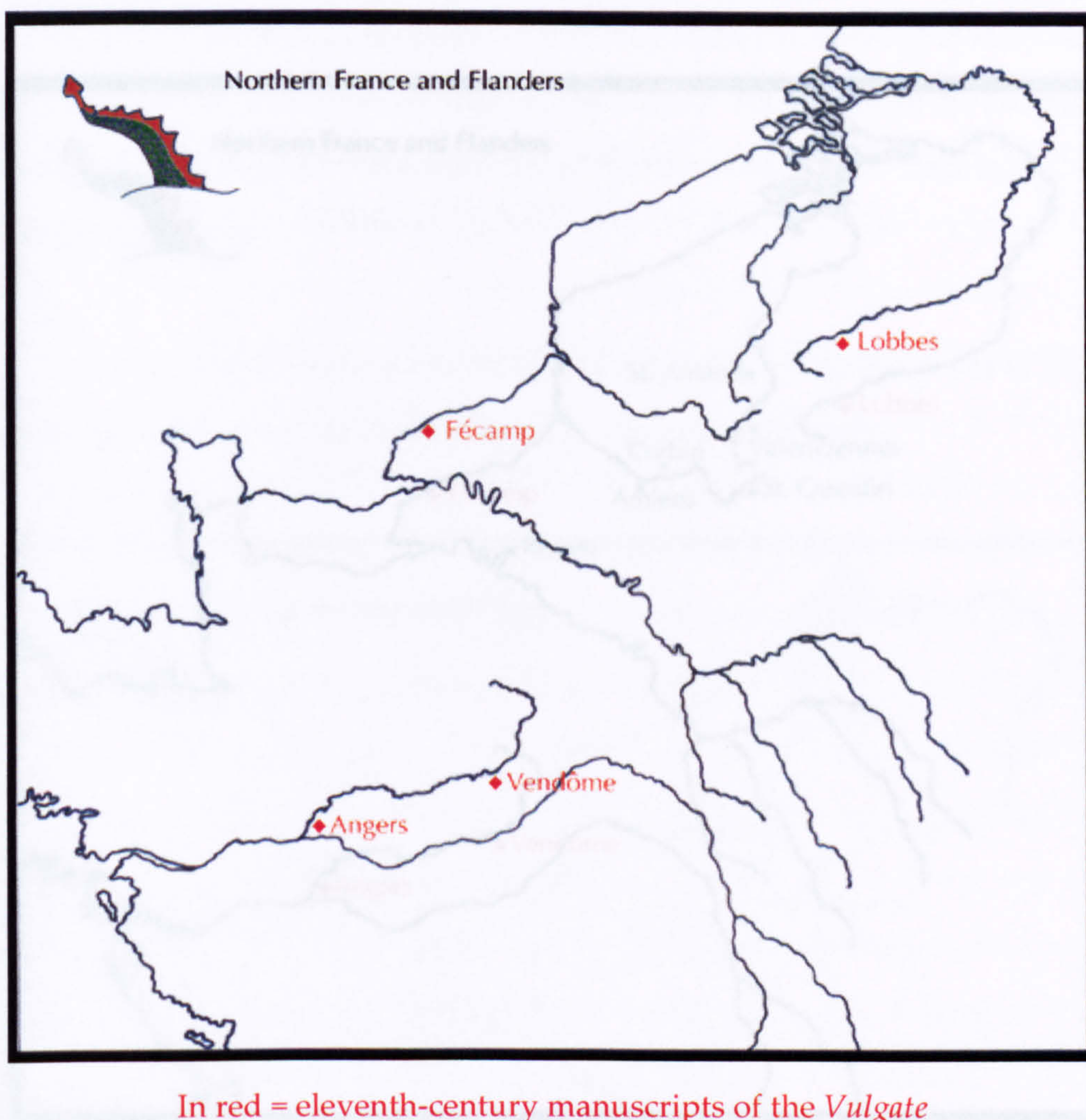
²⁴ *Catalogus codicum bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, ed. Hermann Hagen (1875), p. 182 ('fuit Bongarsii').

²⁵ More correctly, Bongars bought part of the collection of Pierre Daniel (d. 1603), the majority of whose manuscripts were from Fleury, and part of another collection put together by Jacques Cujas. He also profited from ecclesiastical feuds at Strasbourg. See Hermann Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gelehrten Studien des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts* (1874), p. 27-29.

²⁶ *Aegidius inc.: Sanctorum quidem ac propensiori cultu – ut sese pervidendo cognoscatur. Benignus inc.: In tempore illo ad castrum cui nomen est Divio.*

Maria Magdalena fol. 2-3, Gregorius fol. 3-43v, Pantaleon fol. 44-49, Martha fol. 49v-58v, Ursula et decem sodalium suarum fol. 84v-91v, Revelationes quae ostensae sunt Elisabeth ancillae Dei de beata Ursula et comitatu eius fol. 84v-91v, S. John Alexandria fol. 99v-128.

Fig. 5: Map of the eleventh-century manuscripts of the Vulgate²⁷

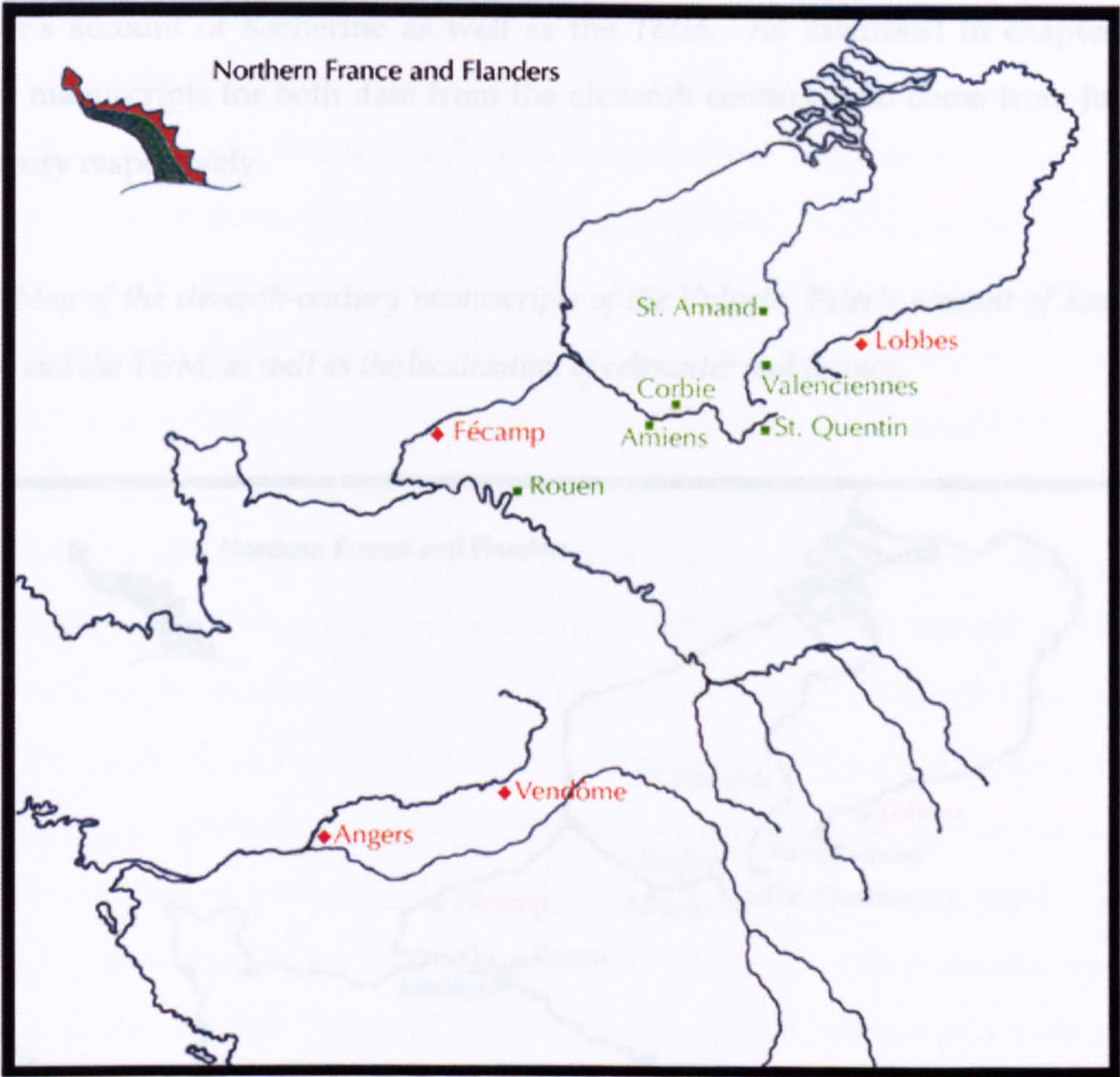


There is a clear division in geographical terms between Fécamp and Lobbes in the north, and Angers and Vendôme a little further to the south (connected by the river Loire; medieval travellers used rivers when possible to move about). While the manuscript from Vendôme preserves the full text of the *Vulgate*, the manuscript from Angers offers an abbreviated version, although it shares a number of errors with the former.

If we now add the localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca* (as discussed in chapter 3) to map 1, we get the following result:

²⁷ Based in outline on Map 58: 'France in 1260' from *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 9: Maps, J.B. Bury & C.W. Previté-Orton, Z.N. Brooke (1936).

Fig. 6: Map of the eleventh-century manuscripts of the Vulgate and the localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca*



In red = eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Vulgate*

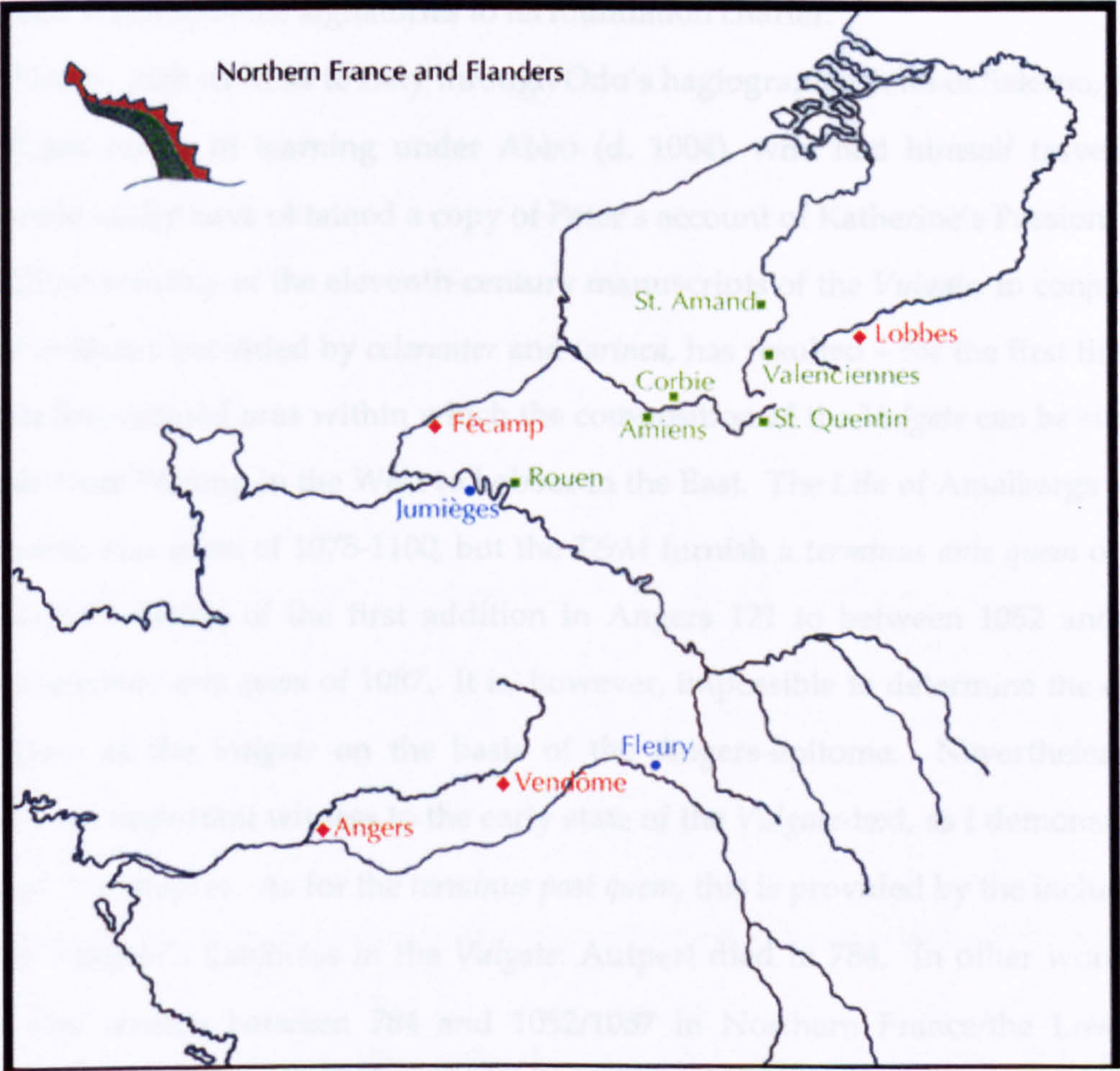
In green = localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca*

As I have discussed previously, the words *celeranter* and *tarinca* occur in association with places such as St Amand or Amiens and St Quentin, while the earliest manuscripts to preserve them come from Corbie (as well as Rouen in the case of the miracles of St Ouen). The superposition of these localizations on top of map 1 results in two more or less distinct groups: Fécamp and Rouen on the one hand, Amiens, Corbie, St Amand, Valenciennes, St Quentin and Lobbes on the other hand. Angers and Vendôme do not share a proximity with the localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca*. On the basis of this

evidence the localization of the composition of the *Vulgate* could very well be within the area between Fécamp and Lobbes.

One further piece of information that can be added to the map is the localization of Peter’s account of Katherine as well as the *T&M*. As discussed in chapter 2, the earliest manuscripts for both date from the eleventh century, and come from Jumièges and Fleury respectively.

Fig. 7: Map of the eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Vulgate*, Peter’s account of Katherine’s Passion and the *T&M*, as well as the localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca*.



In red = eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Vulgate*

In green = localization of *celeranter* and *tarinca*

In blue = eleventh-century manuscripts of Peter’s Katherine-Passion and the *T&M*

Jumièges fits in nicely with the pattern so far established, while Fleury is closer to Vendôme and Angers.

Jumièges was a Benedictine abbey founded in 631 by St Philibert, destroyed by the Normans in 841 and 851, but restored c. 941 by William Longsword.²⁸ In the first decades of the eleventh century, Thierry de Montgommeri (1014-28) was its abbot. A student of the monastic reformer Volpiano, he attracted a large number of students to Jumièges. Another of its abbots, Robert Champart (d. 1052 or 1055), eventually became bishop of London at the behest of Edward the Confessor.²⁹ Before taking up his post at Jumièges in 1037, Robert had been a monk and prior at St Ouen in Rouen. As mentioned above, Robert was the uncle of the Goscelin who founded La Trinité at Rouen, and was one of the signatories to its foundation charter.

Fleury, with its links to Italy through Odo's hagiographer John of Salerno, and as a significant centre of learning under Abbo (d. 1004), who had himself travelled to Rome, could easily have obtained a copy of Peter's account of Katherine's Passion.

Close scrutiny of the eleventh-century manuscripts of the *Vulgate*, in conjunction with the evidence provided by *celeranter* and *tarinca*, has resulted – for the first time – in a more or less defined area within which the composition of the *Vulgate* can be situated. It extends from Fécamp in the West to Lobbes in the East. The Life of Amalberga results in a *terminus ante quem* of 1075-1100, but the T&M furnish a *terminus ante quem* of 1054-1090. Vezin's dating of the first addition in Angers 121 to between 1052 and 1087, results a *terminus ante quem* of 1087. It is, however, impossible to determine the date of composition of the *Vulgate* on the basis of the Angers-epitome. Nevertheless, this epitome is an important witness to the early state of the *Vulgate*-text, as I demonstrate at the end of this chapter. As for the *terminus post quem*, this is provided by the inclusion of Ambrose Autpert's *Conflictus* in the *Vulgate*: Autpert died in 784. In other words, the *Vulgate* was written between 784 and 1052/1087 in Northern France/the Lowlands.

²⁸ Cottineau I, col. 1496-97.

²⁹ He gave to his old abbey a Missal written at Winchester (Rouen 274). Rouen 231, an anglo-Saxon Psalter, was perhaps also a gift from Robert. See Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 146. Robert was the archbishop of Canterbury in 1051-52.

Given the scant evidence for a cult of Katherine in the Latin West before the end of the tenth century, it is likely that the *Vulgate*-author was active in the period between 900 and 1052/1087.

2. Dissemination of the manuscripts

While a specific and detailed study of the total of the manuscripts has not been possible, a preliminary look at their dissemination in terms of chronology and geography can give an indication of when and where the *Vulgate* and its epitomes were copied, and how the text was diffused throughout medieval Europe.

2. 1 Number and dating of manuscripts³⁰

11 th century	4
12 th century	55
13 th century	75
14 th century	50
15 th century	69
16 th century	3
Total	256

The *Vulgate* and its derivatives enjoyed a particularly active diffusion from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, with a peak in the thirteenth. The comparatively small number of manuscripts from the eleventh century, as discussed above, suggests that it was probably written during that century, or a little earlier. The sudden leap from four manuscripts in the eleventh century, to 55 in the twelfth, is evidence for the appeal of the *Vulgate* and the spreading cult of St Katherine.³¹

³⁰ NB: I have only included manuscripts for which I know the date. Whenever a manuscript falls between two centuries I have counted the later date.

³¹ See Guy Philippart & Michel Trigalet, ‘L’hagiographie Latine du xi^e siècle dans la longue durée: données statistiques sur la production littéraire et sur l’édition médiévale’, in *Latin culture in the 11th century*, vol. 2, p. 281-301, esp. p. 291 which shows the distribution of 5120 hagiographic manuscripts and the preliminary conclusion that the 12th and 15th centuries were the most important for the production of these manuscripts (also the 11th). Out of the 18 most successful hagiographical works of the 15th century, only Katherine, along with St Martin and St Francis, are works not by or dedicated to Jerome, see p. 294.

As already mentioned, the *Vulgate* was subject to epitomization as early as the eleventh century. The twelfth century saw the production of two distinct epitomes, each with their own diffusion, identified by the tags BHL 1663a and 1661m (see below). 1663a is represented by five twelfth-century manuscripts, and 1661m by three. There existed also a number of as yet unidentified epitomes, of which we have three manuscripts. During the thirteenth century, 1663a and 1661m continued to be copied, and survive in ten and six manuscripts respectively. Other epitomes account for a total of 14 manuscripts. The fourteenth century saw a continued, but already less committed, interest in 1661m with five extant copies, whereas 1663a survives in only two. The manuscripts preserving other epitomes amount to seven witnesses. Despite the continuing downward trend, both 1663a (with three manuscripts) and 1661m (with four manuscripts) managed to survive into the fifteenth century. The still unidentified epitomes account for a total of nine manuscripts during that century.

In summary, the greatest concentration of manuscripts containing *Vulgate*-derived epitomes date from the thirteenth century, although the two most stable epitomes date from the twelfth century, if not before.

2.2 Geographical diffusion³²

A. Northern France and Flanders (and Netherlands)

11 th century	4
12 th century	26
13 th century	24
14 th century	14
15 th century	8

³² NB: I have not included manuscripts for which I do not know the provenance, although the place of conservation can sometimes be indicative (above all in local French libraries - the various card-catalogues at the IRHT, Paris, tend to concentrate on French and Belgian manuscripts). Also, the varying degrees of catalogization of different collections do not always include information on provenance. This will inevitably result in an unbalanced picture, but I have included it nevertheless.

B. England & Ireland

12 th century	8
13 th century	4
14 th century	2
15 th century	1

C. Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and Bohemia

12 th century	9
13 th century	25
14 th century	12
15 th century	29

D. Southern Europe (Southern France, Portugal and Italy)

12 th century	1 (Portugal)
13 th century	6 (Italy and S. France)
14 th century	3
15 th century	1 (Italy)

In the twelfth century, the *Vulgate* was copied mainly in France. At the same time, it was also known in England. The witnesses from Germany, Austria and Switzerland are due to the spread of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*. The absence of Italian witnesses is remarkable, and perhaps further evidence (although in itself not conclusive), that the *Vulgate* originated from France.³³

In the thirteenth century, the *Vulgate* continued to be copied in France just as avidly as in the preceding century. It was equally popular In Germany, Austria and Switzerland. By contrast, it did not enjoy a large diffusion either in England or in Italy.

During the fourteenth century, the number of witnesses from France and Germany drop from the twenties to 14 and 12 respectively, while the witnesses from England and Italy remain very few.

The fifteenth century saw very little copying of the *Vulgate*, with the notable exception of Germany, where it enjoyed a renewed success. Why there are

³³ Although there are a number of Italian-provenance manuscripts from the twelfth century that contain *Vulgate* epitomes.

comparatively few fifteenth-century witnesses for the *Vulgate* from France, in particular, is hard to explain. This could be a combination of cultural reasons, so that the *Vulgate* was no longer the flavour of the day. It could also be due to the summative descriptions of legendaries in manuscript catalogues.

2.3. Institutional diffusion³⁴

Benedictine:

11 th century	4
12 th century	16
13 th century	20
14 th century	13
15 th century	15
16 th century	2

Cistercian:

12 th century	8
13 th century	12
14 th century	3
15 th century	1

Augustinian/collegial:

12 th century	3
13 th century	8
14 th century	2
15 th century	7

The diffusion within the Franciscan, Carthusian and Premonstratensian orders was relatively limited.³⁵ A reason for this could be the impact of the *Legenda nova*, with their principal aim of providing the preacher with an organized and canonical collection of saints' lives, beginning with Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. In this light, the

³⁴ NB: again, I have only included manuscripts for which I know the provenance, and therefore the religious institution.

³⁵ Franciscan: 1 ms from the fourteenth, and 1 ms from the fifteenth century.
Carthusian: 3 mss from the fourteenth, and 1 ms from the fifteenth century.
Premonstratensian: 6 mss from the twelfth, and 3 mss from the fourteenth century.

text preserved in Koblenz LHA Best. 701 Nr. 150, s. xv, is all the more fascinating: it is the only manuscript I know of to contain a macaronic version of the *Vulgate*, moving back and forth almost seamlessly from Latin into German throughout. The dialect of the German points to the Rhine area around Koblenz, and it is very likely to have issued from a Franciscan house.³⁶ It seems that the *Vulgate* also circulated within university-circles, but this was, again, very limited.³⁷

A certain pattern can be detected, in that the *Vulgate* was copied largely within a monastic milieu. The Benedictines, above all others, played a crucial role in its transmission as well as composition. Their partiality towards intellectual endeavour found its match in St Katherine, and the *Vulgate* with its patchwork of sources can in this light be seen as a showpiece for their learning.

3. The *Vulgate* and its epitomes³⁸

Already during the eleventh century it became apparent that the original text of the *Vulgate* was both too long and too densely-packed with theological content to include it into the liturgy. In parallel to its continued copying, various epitomizers went to work on it and produced a number of versions that enjoyed varying degrees of success during the centuries that followed.

The way in which the epitomizers proceeded in the main was to cut the lengthy speeches to varying degrees, or summarize them, as well as doing away with some of the repeat-passages (ie. different punishments, summaries of events, etc.). While it is possible to distinguish a number of 'fixed' versions, in the sense that they had their own

³⁶ I am preparing a discussion and transcription of this manuscript in collaboration with Stephen Mossman, Oriel College, Oxford.

³⁷ Paris lat. 16566 belonged to the library of the Sorbonne, and Paris Mazarine 1713 belonged to the library of the Collège de Navarre. During the thirteenth century the University of Paris adopted Katherine as one of its patrons, along with the Virgin and St Nicolas, see André Tuilier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*, vol. 1: *Des origines à Richelieu* (1994), p. 173. The seal of the University and the Faculty of Arts, in use during the thirteenth century, is depicted on p. 68, showing the three patron saints, and below them scenes from university life.

³⁸ Details on the manuscripts mentioned in this section (such as folios and provenance) can be found in the check-list below.

more or less stable transmission, there are many others that simply elude classification at this point.³⁹ The reason for this could be that a good number of them may have been produced for in-house use only, or failed to make a suitable impression.

However, there are some observations that can usefully be made at this stage. I take as my starting point the classification of the BHL, although its flaws with regard to the *Vulgate* and its derivatives will quickly become apparent.

BHL 1663

This is the 'original' *Vulgate*. In the majority of cases the prologue is present, but a number of manuscripts omit it. This version is characterized by two sets of debates: the initial confrontation between Katherine and Maxentius, and the subsequent disputation between Katherine and the philosophers. All speeches are distinguished by their theological content, derived mostly from a number of literary sources. It is preserved in at least 130+ manuscripts.

BHL 1663a ('shorter' Vulgate)

Referred to by Dobson as the 'shorter' *Vulgate*, this epitome retains many of the features of the *Vulgate*, even the prologue (in some manuscripts).⁴⁰ The most significant difference is the extent of the speeches, which have been shortened but not entirely cut. A partial edition was undertaken by Dobson who recorded the readings of a handful of manuscripts in a second apparatus underneath the text of the *Vulgate*.⁴¹ His apparatus

³⁹ The classification of the textual corpus of St Pelagia by a group of French scholars remains the pioneering and model-example of how to dissect and classify hagiographic texts. See Pierre Petitmengin et al., *Pélagie la Pénitente: métamorphoses d'une légende*, 2 vols (1981 & 1984). See also 'Les vies latines de sainte Pélagie: inventaire des textes publiés et inédits', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 12 (1977), 3-29; and 'Les vies latines de sainte Pélagie: compléments à l'inventaire et classement des manuscrits du texte B', *RA* 15 (1980), 265-304.

⁴⁰ *Seinte Katerine*, p. 140.

⁴¹ The contents of Aosta 27, s. xiii, were published by Maria Cattalano, 'Passio Sanctae Caterinae virginis', *Melanges historiques et hagiographiques valdotains* (Miscellanea Augustana), II, 1953, 351-65. The folios that contain 1663a seem to be in disorder: the queen is killed before the destruction of the wheels. Cattalano did not point this out, neither did she feel the need to provide the call-mark of the manuscript she used.

reveals a number of idiosyncrasies only found in this epitome. The prologue that precedes this epitome has been changed very slightly in a couple of places, a fact that is consistently present in its manuscripts (see appendix iii). In particular, two passages which were previously deleted were restored at a different place in the text:

- a. Lines 223-60 have been cut from their original place and have been moved forward, in order to replace lines 147-202 which have been suppressed. The result is that the speech in which Katherine reveals her name has taken the place of the short theological debate between the saint and Maxentius. At the same, the messenger sent out to bring back the philosophers is no longer given time to do so by the interposition of events that take place at court.
- b. Lines 894-905 have been deleted from their original context and have been partially inserted after line 1095, where they replace lines 1095-1100. In other words, the passage describing a group of people following Katherine as she is being dragged off to be beaten as a punishment for having survived her incarceration, is used instead to describe the group who follow her on the way to her execution. In the original, Katherine turns around to address specifically the *virgines* and *matronas* from that second group. Her speech includes the pronoun *ipsas* (Dob. 1105). This has been changed to *ipsos* in 1663a: Katherine begins her speech still in the context of line 903 (*deponite, o viri*), but continues at 1100 with her speech to the *virgines* and *matronas*. However, the new context requires the female pronoun to be changed to the masculine, present in the four manuscripts of 1663a used by Dobson.

This epitome is extant in a good number of manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards, and has also been incorporated into the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (MLA); its earliest witness is Heiligenkreuz 14, 1190-1212. It remains to be seen whether it owes its existence to the inclusion in the MLA or whether it was an independent epitomization which was subsequently used by whoever compiled the MLA.

The BHL online also lists the following as containing BHL 1663a, although on examination they reveal themselves as containing a great variety of epitomes, not yet

classified: Bourges 34, s. xv^{1/4}; Paris Mazarine 399, s. xiv; Roma Sess. 147, s. xiv; Rouen 1388, s. xii; Trier BS 33, s. xv; Trier StaB 388, s. xii; Vaticano Pal. lat. 362, s. xv.

No BHL number ('shorter' shorter Vulgate)

Dobson referred to the epitome contained in Paris lat. 14293 as the shorter *Vulgate* because it appears to be based directly on the 'shorter *Vulgate*' 1663a.⁴² It is divided into nine readings – it is possible that there are other witnesses for this text.

BHL 1664

A version of the *Vulgate* which is followed by an epilogue that names *Athanasius* as the *scriptor*, preserved in at least three manuscripts (according to the BHL online):

- Bruxelles BR 7917, 1475.
- s'Gravenhage KB L.29 (70.E.21), 1461
- Wien ÖNB s.n. 12754, s. xv.

While Bruxelles 7917 preserves the epilogue, s'Gravenhage L.29 does not and ends just like the *Vulgate*. I have not verified the Vienna manuscript. In any case, it appears that 1664 merely reflects the addition of the epilogue to the *Vulgate*, as opposed to a different account. As in the case of the Katherine-Passion written by the subdeacon Peter (whose text has been referred to variously as the Athanasius/Arechis/Peter version), the categorization according to epilogues (above and beyond the *incipit/explicit*) only confuses.

BHL 1664b, c, d

The addition of the letters b, c, and d categorizes a number of manuscripts which contain epitomes that carry similar *incipits*. Following the BHL online we have:

- b: *maxentius tirannus anno tricesimo quinto regni sui residens in civitate Alexandrinorum feralia per vicinas provincias.*

One witness: Trier BS 98. The text in this manuscript is longer than both 1661m

⁴² Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 140. The text also printed by Narbey, *Supplément*, 2, p. 321-27.

and 1663a, but I have been unable to place it within the corpus of texts. A relationship with the other two epitomes cannot be excluded at this stage.

- c: *maxentius imperator anno regni sui trigesimo quinto in civitate Alexandrinorum feralia per vicinas provincias misit edicta*

One witness: Trier StaB 1050 (737). This is in fact one of the manuscripts that contain 1661m (see chapter 5).

- d: *fuit in urbe Alexandrinorum quaedam puella*

Two manuscripts: Douai 151 and Verdun 1. A comparison of the two witnesses reveals that they do not preserve the same text. Verdun is much shorter, leaving out the debate with and death of the philosophers, the conversion of the queen and Porphyrius, their deaths, as well as the construction of the wheel.

BHL 1661m

The *incipit* of this text suggests that it is dependent on Peter's version of Katherine's Passion,⁴³ which is the reason why it was classified under BHL 1661. In reality, it is an epitome of the *Vulgate* extant in a good number of manuscripts, including at least five manuscripts dated to the twelfth century. It was first edited by Bronzini on the basis of two witnesses. I present a more detailed discussion and edition of this epitome in chapter 5.

BHL 1673

This tag identifies a text that is an epitome of the *Vulgate* in which mainly the speeches have been cut. The reason it was assigned yet another number is that the beginning of the text looks a little different:

- fol. 124-128v contain a text that starts: *cum apud civitate Alexandriam Maxencius imperator advenisset, misti edictum*, and which has been divided into nine readings.

⁴³ 1661m: *Maxentius imperator anno regni sui tricesimo quinto residens in civitate Alexandrinorum. Peter: Regnante igitur Maxentio cesare, Maximiani augusti filio.*

- fol. 141v-144 contain a text that starts: *factum est autem cum traheretur ad supplicium* (Dob. 894), and which has been divided into eight readings.

While the first text broadly follows the story-line of the *Vulgate* (cutting out undesired text without intervening otherwise), the second text seems to be without a context, containing as it does only Katherine's flogging, the building and destruction of the wheel, and the deaths of the queen and Porphyrius. Rather than assuming a maladroit scribe, it seems more likely that Katherine's Passion was read first (on her feast day [*in natale sanctae Katherinae virginis et martyris*, fol. 124]), and that the part specifically containing the episode of the wheels was repeated during the night office (*noctabas*, fol. 141v).

As already indicated above, there are a number of epitomes that elude classification at this point (see also below, p. 223-37). I wonder, also, how useful such an undertaking would be, seeing that many of the non-epitomes (so-to-speak) of Katherine's Passion are still awaiting their editor. From the evidence I have seen, the only epitomes with any significant diffusion were 1663a and 1661m. Certainly one way of proceeding would be to scrutinize the early epitome-manuscripts in particular, and then move on to later witnesses.

4. Katherine in the Great Legendaries⁴⁴

The success of the *Vulgate*, particularly during the twelfth century, and the proliferation of legendaries particular to a specific area, resulted in its inclusion in a number of the great legendary collections of the Middle Ages. They were initially analyzed by Levison, although some of them have also been studied individually.⁴⁵ I only briefly mention the great continental collections that include the *Vulgate*:

⁴⁴ This overview is not intended as an inclusive survey of the many collections that were put together. See Philippart, *Les legendiers latins*, p. 122-28 for an initial bibliography,

⁴⁵ W. Levison, *Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum* (1920), p. 529-51.

Magnum Legendarium Austriacum = 1663a.

This legendary was put together sometime after 1181.⁴⁶ It derives its name from the fact that the manuscripts which make up the collection are all conserved in Austrian monasteries, namely Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld and Zwettl (Cistercian), and Admont and Melk (benedictine).⁴⁷ The only complete set – in seven volumes – is at Melk. The witnesses to Katherine's Passion are: Heiligenkreuz 14, s. xii; Melk 678 (M.8), s. xv; Zwettl 15, s. xii.

Legendarium Flandrense = 1663.

This collection was compiled in the middle of the twelfth century, and is preserved in a number of manuscripts, none of which make up a complete set.⁴⁸

The following manuscripts are witnesses to the *Vulgate*:

From Ter Doest in Flanders, xiii = Brugge 404

From Clairmarais (nr St Omer), xiii = St Omer 716 vol. viii

From Vaucelles (nr Cambrai), xiii = Bruxelles 7461

From Marchiennes, xiii = Douai 838

Liber de Natalitiis

The *Liber de Natalitiis* belongs to a collection of legendaries with many ramifications.⁴⁹ It is a 6-volume work, compiled in the 12th century, and of Cistercian origin. More than 50

⁴⁶ A. Poncelet, *De magno legendario austriaco*, AB 17 (1898), p. 98

⁴⁷ There is also a manuscript now at Vienna ÖNB 337, see Joseph v.d. Straeten, 'Le "Grand Legendier Autrichien" dans les manuscrits de Zwettl', AB 113 (1995), 321.

⁴⁸ See Levison, 'Conspectus', p. 542-44; F. Dolbeau, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le Legendarium Flandrense', RA 16 (1981), 399-455.

⁴⁹ H. Rochais, 'Un légendier cistercien de la fin du xi^e siècle: le Liber de natalitiis et de quelques grands légendiers des xii^e et xiii^e siècles (1975). F. Dolbeau, 'Notes sur la genèse et sur la diffusion du Liber de Natalitiis', RHT 6 (1976), 143-95. Other French legendaries have been discussed by Dolbeau: 'Le légendier de l'abbaye cistercienne de Clairmarais', AB 91 (1973), 273-86. 'Un légendier de la cathédrale d'Arras (Bruxelles, B. R., II. 2310)', AB 107 (1989) 128. 'Les légendiers de Marchiennes', AB 108 (1990), 336. 'Deux légendiers de Metz et de Châlons', AB 108 (1990), 348. 'Deux légendiers démembrés du diocèse de Liège', AB 109 (1991), 117-36. 'Le légendier de Châalis', AB 117 (1999), 388-93

manuscripts survive today. At least two manuscripts contain the *Vulgate*: Paris lat. 16735 and Paris lat. 17007.

5. A check-list of manuscripts of the *Vulgate* (and its epitomes)

This is the most complete checklist of manuscripts containing the *Vulgate* (and its derivatives) so far. I started with the lists of manuscripts compiled by the Bollandists, available over the internet, and Bronzini. I found additional manuscripts in Dobson and Bray,⁵⁰ as well as by browsing manuscript catalogues and manuscript databases (such as *In Principio* and *Manuscripta Mediaevalia*). Many of the provenances are based on the various card-catalogues of owners and places compiled by the IHRT in Paris, and, just as in the case of the dates, cannot in all cases be guaranteed to be certain, but are rather intended as a guide.⁵¹

I present here a list that will allow easy and quick overview of the manuscripts, without providing a full description of each witness.⁵² Moreover, given that there are reference-works to control the mass of manuscript catalogues, I have not included reference to the latter (here or in the bibliography).⁵³ The list accounts for manuscripts that preserve BHL 1663, and its epitomes as far as I have been able to identify them. In some cases, the catalogue descriptions were insufficient to allow a precise identification – when that was the case I have indicated this by a question mark. Due to the sheer amount of manuscripts and the limited time available, I have not been able to take account of the other BHL numbers for Katherine.

The manuscripts are arranged in alphabetical order of the place where they are now kept. For each manuscript I give its location, call mark and folios containing the

⁵⁰ Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 132-43. Jennifer Relvyn Bray, 'The legend of St Katherine'.

⁵¹ In the case of the provenance, I give the earliest known origin, provenance or ownership.

⁵² I am preparing a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts for future publication.

⁵³ See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: a list of the printed catalogues and unpublished inventories of extant collections*, revised and enlarged by Sigrid Krämer 1993); *Indices Librorum, Catalogues Anciens et Modernes de Manuscrits Médiévaux en écriture Latine: sept ans de bibliographie, 1977-1983*, ed. Francois Dolbeau, Pierre Petitmengin et al. (1987), and *Indices Librorum: sept ans de bibliographie, 1984-1990* (1995).

Vulgate (or text in question) in the first column. I then give the date as found in the relevant catalogue or other publication. The third column contains information about what sort of *Vulgate* account is preserved in the manuscript. The fourth column provides details about the contents of the manuscripts, as far as possible. The great number of categories is a result of varying degrees of accuracy in the catalogue descriptions, and my own observations. As I have not been able to scrutinize all of the manuscripts and therefore classify them in the manner as suggested by Philippart,⁵⁴ I have chosen to keep the descriptions which were given in the catalogues (if not always strictly correct). In the fifth column I indicate the provenance, and the religious order (if known).

It is likely that a number of witnesses are still lying dormant, particularly in Eastern European libraries. The holdings of several monastic libraries in Austria and Switzerland are especially rich of mainly younger manuscripts, and are being progressively catalogued, although I have tried to include recent catalogues. The clusters of manuscripts from twelfth-century France, and from places such as Trier and the surroundings of Munich, as well as the group of manuscripts of English provenance would have made interesting studies but this would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁵⁴ Philippart, *Légendiers Latins*, p. 21-26.

Abbreviations used in the check-list

Text

1663: *Vulgate*

1663 prol: *Vulgate* preceded by the
prologue

1663 + LA: text of the *Vulgate*
apparently contaminated by the
Legenda Aurea

debate: dispute between Katherine and
the philosophers only

1663a: *Vulgate* epitome

1663a prol.: *Vulgate* epitome preceded
by the prologue

1661m: *Vulgate* epitome

epit. (prol.): an as yet unidentified
epitome (preceded by the
prologue)

mac.: macaronic text

Contents

Barl. & J = Barlaam and Joasaph

Breviary

fem. = female saints only

Hom. = homily, homiliary

Kath. = St Katherine

LA = *Legenda Aurea*

Lect. = lectionary

Leg. = legendary

Leg. Magdeb. = *Legendarium*
Magdeburgense

LF = *Legendarium Flandrense*

Libellus = contains only Katherine-
related texts

LN = *Liber Natalitiis*

Misc. = collection of various texts

Missal

MLA = *Magnum Legendarium*
Austriacum

Off. Kap. = office of the chapter

Pass. = passionary

Peter of Lond. = Peter of London's *Liber*
revelationum (d. 1221)

Serm. & Inst. Sct. = Sermons and
Instutiones Sanctorum

Serm. & Vit. = Sermons and saints' Lives

Becket = Thomas Becket (Life of)

VS = Saints' lives

VV = lives of virgin saints

Abbreviations of religious orders:

aug. = Augustinian

ben. = Benedictine

carth. = Carthusian

can. = Canons

cist. = Cistercians

coll. = Collegiate

dioc. = Diocese

dom. = Dominican

franc. = Franciscan

jes. = Jesuit

prem. = Premonstratensian

reg. = regular

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
1	Aberystwyth NLW 21876A, fol. 1v-24	xii	1663a	Misc.	France
2	Admont StB 552, fol. 168-171	xii/xiii	epit.	Misc.	Admont, ben.
3	Alençon BM 21, fol. 144-156	xiv	1663	VS	Abbeye de la Trappe, cist.
4	Aosta BColl. St Orso 8, fol. 218-227v	xiii	?	Leg.	St Orso, aug.
5	Aosta Biblioteca Collegiata St Orso 27, fol. 57v-64v	xiii	1663a	Misc.	?
6	Angers BM 121 (113), fol. 274-280	xi	epit.	Lect.	St Nicolas, Angers, ben.
7	Angers BM 308 (299), fol. 123-144v	xii	1663	VS	?
8	Angers BM 813 (729), fol. 46-72v	xii	1663	VS	St Aubin, Angers?, ben.
9	Arras BP 961 (344), fol. 182a-183	xiv	1663	Lect.	St Waast, Arras, ben.
10	Arras BP 462 (573), fol. 114a-121a	xiii	1663	VS	St Waast, Arras, ben.
11	Aschaffenburg StB Perg. 4, fol. 257a-264vb	xiii-xiv	1663?	Pass.	Aschaffenburg, ben./coll.
12	Bamberg SB Q.VI.57, fol. 258v-262	xv	?	Misc.	Bamberg, franc.
13	Berlin SBPK theol.lat.fol. 482, fol. 25vb-47b	<i>ante</i> 1179	1663	VS	Doberan-Pelplin, cist.
14	Berlin SBPK theol.lat.fol. 267, fol. 195a-199a	1150-1200	1663	Pass.	Springiersbach/Eifel, aug.
15	Berlin SBPK theol.lat.fol. 719, fol. 96b-104va	xiii	1663a	Leg.	Steinfeld/Eifel, prem.
16	Berlin SBPK theol.lat.fol. 701, fol. 1a-16va	xii/xiii	1663	Kath.	Kaisheim, Augburg, cist.
17	Berlin SBPK Magdeburg. 138, fol. 398-410v	<i>post</i> 1459	1663	Leg. Magdeb.	J. Bongars, French (?)
18	Bern BB 133, fol. 65v-84v	xi-xii	1663 prol.	VS	France ?
19	Bern BB 137, fol. 158-178	xii	1663 prol.	VS	Ile-de-France ?
20	Bourges BM 34, fol. 181b-190vb	1401-1425	epit.	Missal	St Chapelle, Bourges
21	Brugge StaB 34, fol. 148a-167b	xiii	1663?	Misc.	Ter Duinen, cist.
22	Brugge StaB 113, fol. 1v	xii	prol.	Misc.	Ter Duinen, cist., St Donat Brugge
23	Brugge StaB 404, fol. 49-56	xiii	epit.?	LF	Ter Duinen, Ter Doest, cist.
24	Bruxelles Bib. Boll. lat. 5 (430), fol. 101a-108a	xii	1663	VS	Grimberghen, prem.

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
25	Bruxelles Bib. Boll. lat. 433 (455), fol. 156a-166va	xiii	1663	Vit .Sanct.	Heinsberg, Norbertines
26	Bruxelles BR 197, fol. 206v-220	1465	1663?	Leg.	?
27	Bruxelles BR 206, fol. 114a-122b	xiii ⁱⁿ	1663 prol.	Pass.	Knechtsteden, prem. ?
28	Bruxelles BR 4564-68, fol. 34-45v	xiii	1661m	Misc.	Brugge, jes.
29	Bruxelles BR 4961, fol. 1-31v	xv	1663 prol.	Libellus	Enghien, La Chapelle, carth.
30	Bruxelles BR 7461, fol. 80b-91a	xiii	1663 prol.	LF	Vaucelles, cist.
31	Bruxelles BR 7672-74, fol. 175a-186b	xiv	1663 prol.	Leg.	Irish
32	Bruxelles BR 7917, fol. 4v-16	1475	1663 prol.	VV	St Jerome, Utrecht
33	Bruxelles BR 8272-82, fol. 236v-250v	xv	1663 prol.	VS	?
34	Bruxelles BR 8690-8702, fol. 14-42v	xii	1663 prol.	Leg.	Duyn Amsterdam, Bollandists
35	Bruxelles BR 8729-31, fol. 43-75v	xv	1663 prol.	VV	Utrecht?, carth.
36	Bruxelles BR 8751-60, fol. 52-67v	1442	1663 prol.	Leg.	St Paul, Zonia (Rouge-Cloitre)
37	Bruxelles BR 8955-56, fol. 4-6v + 9-24	xvii	various	Collectanea	
38	Bruxelles BR 9120, fol. 92v-100	1180	1663	Pass.	Bollandists
39	Bruxelles BR 9810-14, fol. 179-191v	xii	1663 prol.	Leg. Fem.	Lille, jes.
40	Bruxelles BR 11550-55, fol. 192-201	xiii	1663 prol.	Pass.	St Laurent, Liège, ben.
41	Bruxelles BR 18018, fol. 25v-37	xi ^{ex}	1663	Lect.	Le Parc (Brabant), prem.
42	Bruxelles BR 19071, fol. 3-15v	1480	1663 prol.	Libellus	St Peter, Lobbes, ben.
43	Bruxelles BR 19080, fol. 1-33v	1470	1663 prol.	Libellus	?
44	Bruxelles BR 20374-77, fol. 367-382v	xii	? prol.	Misc.	?
45	Bruxelles BR II.1151 (olim D.Phill.4768), fol. 99v-114v	xiii	?	Leg.	Louvain
46	Budapest OSK lat. 40, fol. 1v-2v	1457	epit.	VS (fem.)	Cambron, cist.
47	Budapest OSK lat. 389, fol. 90-106v	1400/1500	1663 prol.	Serm. & Vit.	?
48	Cambridge CCC 405, fol. 72v-79v	xiv ⁱⁿ	1661m	Misc.	Bohemia
					Waterford

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
49	Cambridge Fitzwilliam McClean 100, fol. 149-161	x+xii	1663 prol.	Pass.	German
50	Cambridge Gonville & Caius 301/515, fol. 141-150	xii	1663	VS & Misc.	Christ Church, Canterbury
51	Cambridge Trinity 340, fol. 75-109b	xv/xvi	1663 prol.	Lect.	English
52	Cambridge UL Gg.I.26, fol. 115-150	1421	1663	VS	English
53	Cambrai BM 863 (767.i), fol. 263-278	1076-92 + xii	1663 prol.	Leg.	St Sépulcre, Cambrai, ben.
54	Carpentras BM 72, fol. 296-300	xii ^{ex}	epit.	Breviary	?
55	Charleville BP 200, fol. 117a-128b	xiii	1663 prol.	VS	Signy, cist.
56	Charleville BP 254 vol.ii, fol. 1-15	1151	1663	Leg. (fem.)	Belleva, ben.
57	Chartres BM 190 (500 5/A), fol. 269-274 [<i>destr.</i>]	xii	?	Misc.?	Chartres
58	Chartres BM 479 (516/B), fol. 149v-152v [<i>destr.</i>]	xv	epit.	Leg.	Chartres
59	Chartres BM 92, fol. 269-271 [<i>destr.</i>]	xii-xv	1663	?	?
60	Chartres BM 51 vol. ii (1031 7/D), fol. 197-198v [<i>destr.</i>]	1373	?	Misc.?	St Père, Chartres, ben.
61	Cividale MAN XII, fol. 177-179	xv	1661m	Pass.	Cividale (G. Capellini scribe), ben.
62	Cividale MAN XXI, fol. 197v-202	xii (xiii)	1661m	Pass.	Cividale, ben.
63	Darmstadt HULB 763, fol. 388-409v	1400-1450	1663 prol.	Pass.	Wimpfen, dom.
64	Darmstadt HULB 778, fol. 222va-226va	1450-1500	epit.	Misc.	St Salvator, Ewig, aug.
65	Darmstadt HULB 896, fol. 249va-vb	1200-1300	epit.	Misc.	Dom, Konstanz
66	Darmstadt HULB 2766, fol. 104a-106a	xiv	epit.	VS	Trier
67	s-Gravenhage KB J.3 (78.A.31), fol. 300-313	xiv	1663	VS	?
68	s-Gravenhage KB L.29 (70.E.21), fol. 315v-325	1461	1663 prol.	Pass.	St Catherine, Muiden
69	Dessau StaB Georg. 7, fol. 225-285v	xv	1663	Misc.	Nienburg, ben. ?

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
70	Douai BP 434 vol. iii, fol. 167v-169v	xiii	1663 prol.	Misc.	Anchin, ben.
71	Douai BP 151 vol. i, fol. 178-180	xiv	1663 prol.	Lect.	Marchiennes, ben.
72	Douai BP 838, fol. 114-120	xiii	1663	LF	Marchiennes, ben.
73	Douai BP 854, fol. 112-123v	xii	1663 prol.	VS	Anchin, ben.
74	Edinburgh UL 23, fol. 42-42v + 47-72v	xv	1663 prol.	VV	German or Dutch
75	Einsiedeln StB 251, fol. 97-140	xii	1663 prol.	Barl. & J, Kath.	?
76	Erlangen UB 489, fol. 90-90v + 94-109	1477	1663 + LA	Misc.	?
77	Firenze BNC C.S.D.7 1158, fol. 50-66v	xiii	1663 prol.	Misc.	Camaldoli
78	Frankfurt, Sta & UB Barth. 5, fol. 148va-160va	1356	1663	VS	Bartholomäus, Frankfurt, can.
79	Frankfurt, Sta & UB Barth. 71, fol. 71	xiv	prol.	Misc.	Bartholomäus, Frankfurt, can.
		xii-			
80	Gent CBR 245, fol. 3a-48	xiii+xiv	?	VS	Trier
81	Gent CBR 423, fol. 1a-91	xii-xiii	1663?	Libellus	?
82	Gloucester Cathedral I, fol. 97v-105	xiii ⁱⁿ	1663 prol.	VS	St Peter, Leominster, ben. fem.
83	Gorizia BS 9, fol. 239v-244	xiii	1661m	Pass.	Aquileia
84	Gotha F&LB Memb. I.64, fol. 144-156v	xiv	?	VS	
85	Graz UB 302, fol. 274v-280	1384/85	1663	Misc.	Seckau, aug.
86	Graz UB 412, fol. 217-228v	xii	1663	VS	St Lambrecht, aug.
87	Graz UB 1069, fol. 112-139v	1200	1663	Misc.	Seckau, Chorherren, aug.
88	Heiligenkreuz StB 14, fol. 13a-17vb	1190-1212	1663a prol.	MLA	Heiligenkreuz, cist.
89	Hereford Cathdral P.VII.6, fol. 103vb-115b	xii	1663 prol.	Pass.	Hereford, ben.
90	Herzogenburg StB 57, fol. 270-276	1430	1661m	Misc.	Grein
91	Hildesheim Bischöfl. DomBib 739f, fol. 38vb-52va	xv	1663 prol.	Misc.	?
92	Kassel GHB 2o theol.fol. 47, frg. 1, fol. 2a-2vb	xii ^{ex}	1663	Misc.	?
93	Kassel GHB 2o theol.fol. 142, fol. 151-157v	1367-89	1661m	Hom.	?

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
94	Klosterneuburg StB CCl 79, fol. 57b-58vb	1260/80	1661m	Off. Cap.	Klosterneuburg, aug.
95	Klosterneuburg StB CCl 193, fol. 235a-236b	1420	1661m?	Misc.	Ybbs, cist. ?
96	Klosterneuburg StB CCl 574, fol. 135v-139v	xiii	epit.	Misc.	St Maria, Naumburg (Albertus Saxo scribe), ben.
97	Klosterneuburg StB CCl 709, fol. 279-295	xiii	1663a prol.	MLA	Klosterneuburg, aug.
98	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 141, fol. 68va-81a	1465	1663 prol.	Misc.	Niederwerth, aug.
99	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 150, fol. 121-125	xv	mac.	Misc.	Mittelrhein
100	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 113a (olim Görres 5), fol. 334a-336b	1300-1350	1663	Leg.	Münstermaifeld, aug. can., scribe Gottfried v. Andernach
101	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 114, fol. 242vb-257va		epit.	Leg. & Misc.	St Kastor, Karden, (can.?)
102	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 115, fol. 116b-124va	1250-1275	1663	Leg.	Dioc. Liège/Mainz Dom?
103	Köln HA GB.f.28, fol. 150-165	1486		VS	St Martin, Köln, ben.
104	Köln HA GB.qto.110, fol. 65-91	1409	1663 prol.	Misc.	Kreuzbrüder, Köln
105	Köln HA GB.qto.253, fol. 96v-121	1450-60	1663 prol.	Misc.	Köln
106	Köln HA W.f.164b, fol. 175-189	c. 1463		Pass.	Corpus Christi, Köln, aug.
107	Kremsmünster StB CC 309 (ii), fol. 82-91	xi ^{ex}	1663	Misc.	?
108	Laon BM 344, fol. 135b-148a	xii	1663 prol.	Pass.	Cuissy, prem.
109	Leipzig UB lat. 436, fol. 15-28	xiii	1663 prol.	Misc.	Chemnitz, ben.
110	Leipzig UB Rep. II fol. 59a (194), fol. 33-36v	xiii	epit.	VS	St Mauricius, Altach
111	Leipzig UB Rep. II fol. 64 (196), fol. 60v-100	xi ^{ex}	1663 prol.	VS	?
112	Liège UB 58 (210, vol. ii), fol. 161-172	1366	?	Leg.	?
113	Liège UB Wittert. 74, fol. 1-14v	xiv	1663 prol.	Pass.	Visé
114	Lilienfeld StB 94, fol. 64v-74v	1200/1300	1663a prol.	MLA	Kleinmariazell, cist.
115	Linz OLB 315 (78), fol. 43-60	xi-xiii	1663?	Misc.	Garsten Passau, ben.
116	Linz OLB 422, fol. ?	xiii	?	VS	?

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
117	Linz OLB 20 (291), fol.	xv	1663 prol.	?	Agnes Sampadin (scribe)
118	Lisboa BN Alcobaça CCLXXXVI (420), fol. 167a-179b	xii	1663a prol.	Leg.	Lisbon, cist.
119	Ljubljana UB 17, fol. 142-156v	xii	1663 prol.	Misc.	?
120	London Lambeth Palace 51, fol. 766-769	1197-1221	epit.	Peter of Lond.	Holy Trinity, London, aug.
121	London BL Arundel 330, fol. 68va-69vb	xiv	epit.	Pass.	Mainz, carth.
122	London BL Arundel 406, fol. 30v	xiii/xiv	epit.	Misc.	English?
123	London BL Cotton Caligula A.viii, fol. 169-191	xii	1663 prol.	Misc.	Ely, prem.
124	London BL Royal 8.C.vi, fol. 160	xiv ^{2/2}	prol.	Misc.	English?
125	London BL Royal 12.E.I, fol. 119v-121v	xiv ⁱⁿ	1661m	Misc.	J. Theyer
126	London BL Harley 12, fol. 141-143v	1125-1150	1661m	VS	English
127	London BL Harley 2345, fol. 55va-56a	xiii/xiv	epit.	Serm.&Inst.Sct.	Winchcomb?, ben.
128	London BL Additional 10933, fol. 126b-134b	xv	1663 prol.	VS	Wiblingen, ben.
129	London BL Harley 2800, fol. 221va-228a	xiii	1663 prol.	Pass.	Arnstein, prem.
130	Mainz StaBi I.106, fol. 42-45v	1300	epit.	VS	Mainz, carth.
131	Mantova BCom 57 (A.II.26), fol. 174-199v	xvi	1663	VS	St George, Venice, ben.
132	Melk StIB 678 (olim M.8), fol. 214-222	xv	1663a	MLA	Melk, ben.
133	Melk StIB 222, fol. 79b-82a	xiii	1661m	Leg.	Melk, ben.
134	Melk StIB 1706, fol. 9v-11	xiii ^{2/2}	?	Misc.	Vienna
135	Metz BM 1149 (salis 3), fol. 2va-19b	xii	1663 prol.	VS	Notre Dame, Tongerlo, prem.
136	Michaelbeuern StIB Man.cart.67, fol. 251vb-253b	xv ^{3/4}	1661m	Misc.	Michaelbeuern, ben.
137	Metz BM 305, fol. 1-?	xiii	1663	Misc.	St Arnould, Metz, ben.
	Mons BCU R4/G 843 (olim Bib.Cl.Viri Alphonsi Wine 3), fol. 95-115v	xiv		Kath. & 2 other saints	St Ghislain or ND de Bonne Espérance, ben./prem.
138	Mons BCU R4/A 30/196 (213) (olim 301/968/439), fol. 62-75v	xiii	epit.	VS	ND de Bonne Espérance, St Foillan, Reuxium
139					

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
140	Montpellier FM H.30, fol. 1a-8va	xii	1663 prol.	Passionale	St Benigne, Dijon, ben.
141	Montpellier FM H.78, fol. 33vb-40a	xiii	1663a	Misc.	?
142	München BSB Cgm 1115, fol. 1a-5va	xv	epit.	Misc.	?
143	München BSB Clm 2610, fol. 16-26	xiii	1663 prol.	VS + Misc.	Alderspach, cist.
144	München BSB Clm 701, fol. 247v-253v	1280	epit.	Lect.	Augsburg?
145	München BSB Clm 2617, fol. 127-153	c. 1248	1663	Misc.	Donauwörth, ben.?
146	München BSB Clm 9506, fol. 98v-100vb	xii & xiii	1663	VS	Oberaltaich, ben.
147	München BSB Clm 5664, fol. 1-1v + 7-33v	xv	1663 prol.	Misc.	Diessen, reg. can. aug.
148	München BSB Clm 12389, fol. 246-254	xiv-xv	1663	Misc.	?
149	München BSB Clm 14473, fol. 94v-107v	xii + xiii	1663	VS	St Emmeram, Regensburg, ben.
150	München BSB Clm 15760, fol. 169vb-176va	1450	1663? prol.	Misc.	Salzburg
151	München BSB Clm 17140, fol. 40-55	xii	1663	VS	Schäftlarn, prem.
152	München BSB Clm 21549, fol. 293-297	xiv	1661m	Misc.	Weihenstefan, ben.
153	München BSB Clm 21658, fol. 36a-b + 38va-48a	xv	1663 prol.	Misc.	Weihenstefan, ben.
154	München BSB Clm 22279, fol. 155-180	xii	1663	Misc.	Windberg, prem.
155	Namur MA fonds ville 15, fol. 270-275v	xiii-xiv	1663	VS	St Hubert, Ardennes, ben.
156	Namur MA fonds ville 2, fol. 286v-290v	xiv	?	Lect.	?
157	Nijmegen UB, fol. 27-45	xv	1663 prol.	VS	Witten
163	Oxford Bodleian Fell 2, p. 199-224	xii ^{ex}	1663	Leg.	St Augustine, Canterbury, ben.
158	Oxford Bodleian Laud.Misc.sc. 75, fol. 1a-9vb	xiii/xiv	1663 prol.	Misc.	Mainz, carth.
159	Oxford Bodleian Laud.Misc.sc. 114, fol. 164-184v	xii ^{ex}	1663 prol.	VS	Pershore, ben.
160	Oxford Bodleian Laud.Misc.sc. 430, fol. 11a-20b	xiii	epit.? prol.	Misc.	Eberbach, cist., Italian hand
161	Oxford Bodleian Lyell 5, fol. 151a-163b	1200-1250	1663	Becket & Kath.	England, cist.
163	Paderborn Theodoriana Ba.2, fol. 241v-252	xv	?	Leg.	Böddeken, Paderborn, ben.
164	Paris Arsenal 233, [item lost]	xii	?	?	English?

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
165	Paris Arsenal 938, fol. 1v-8	xii-xiii	1663a	VS	St Victor, Paris, reg. can. aug.
166	Paris Arsenal 995, fol. 104vb-118b	xiii	1663	Lect.	St Jacques, Paris, dom.
167	Paris BNF lat. 810, fol. 124-128v + 141va-144b	xiv/xv	1673	Lect.	St Martial, Limôges, ben.
168	Paris BNF lat. 15149, fol. 46-65v	xiii-xiv	1663	Misc.	St Victor Paris, reg. can. aug.
169	Paris BNF lat. 1864, fol. 85vb-101vb	xiv (xiii)	1663 prol.	Leg.	?
170	Paris BNF lat. 1970, fol. 54-70v	xi	1663	Misc.	Fécamp, ben.
171	Paris BNF lat. 3809, fol. 145va-148a	xiv	epit.	Lect.	Moissac
172	Paris BNF lat. 5278, fol. 410b-416vb	xiii	1663a	Leg.	Mosel/ Metz
173	Paris BNF lat. 5308, fol. 63v-72	xii	1663	Leg.	Lorrain (Metz)
174	Paris BNF lat. 5333, fol. 79a-101vb	1458	1663 prol.	Leg.	St Geneviève, Paris, reg. can.
175	Paris BNF lat. 5336, fol. 108v-119v	xii ^{med}	1663	Leg.	English
176	Paris BNF lat. 5343, fol. 135-137v + 140-148v	xi	1663 prol.	Leg.	St Trinité Vendôme, ben.
177	Paris BNF lat. 5360, fol. 215vb-233va	xiv	1663 prol.	Leg.	Jouarre-en-Brie, ben. fem. ?
178	Paris BNF lat. 5365, fol. 163-171	xii	1663 prol.	Leg..	St Martial, Limoges, ben.
179	Paris BNF lat. 5371, fol. 39a-51va	xii + xiii	1663 prol.	Leg.	Dioc. Cambrai (= fol. 55-231)
180	Paris BNF lat. 8995, fol. 118v-130	c. 1300	1663	Leg.	St Barbara, Köln, carth.
181	Paris BNF lat. 11754, fol. 213-221a	xiii + xiv	1663a prol.	Leg.	St Germain des Prés, Paris
182	Paris BNF lat. 11759, fol. 251vb-258va	xiv	1663 prol.	VS	Saint Ayoul, Provins, ben.
183	Paris BNF lat. 12259, fol. 267-286	xii	epit. prol.	Misc.	St Germain des Prés, Paris (Soissons?)
184	Paris BNF lat. 14293, fol. 210a-217vb	xiii	1663a short	Misc.	St Victor, Marseille, ben.
185	Paris BNF lat. 14364, fol. 150a-156a	xiii	1663a	Pass.	St Victor, Paris, reg. aug. can.
186	Paris BNF lat. 14651, fol. 173-173v	xv	prol.	Leg.	St Victor, Paris
187	Paris BNF lat. 15030, fol. 25-41	xv	1663a prol.	VS	St Victor, Paris?
188	Paris BNF lat. 15149, fol. 54-65v	xiii-xiv	1663	Misc.	St Victor, Paris

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
189	Paris BNF lat. 16566, fol. 1-5v	xiii	epit.	VS	Bib. Sorbonne
190	Paris BNF lat. 16735, fol. 191a-197b	xii ^{ex}	1663 prol.	Leg. (LN)	Châalis, cist.
191	Paris BNF lat. 17007, fol. 203-210v	xii-xiii	1663 prol.	Leg. (LN)	Val-Notre-Dame, cist.
192	Paris BNF lat. 18309, fol. 168vb-171vb	xiii	1663 end	Misc.	Jacobins de la rue St Honoré
193	Paris BNF n.a. lat. 2288, fol. 1v-13v	1425	epit.	Leg.	Remiremont, ben.
194	Paris Mazarine 399, fol. 243va-247b	xiv	epit.	Lect.	St Magloire, Paris, ben.
195	Paris Mazarine 1713, fol. 46va-57a	xiii	1663a prol.	Misc.	Collège de Navarre
196	Paris St Geneviève 131, fol. 287a-290a	xiii	?	Lect.	St Lo, Rouen, aug.
197	Paris St Geneviève 134, fol. 226	xii	1663a prol.	VS	St Quintinus, Belval, (ben.?)
198	Paris St Geneviève 552, gol. 202a-209vb	xii/xiii	1663a prol.	Lect.	Senlis cath.
199	Praha KMK 263 (A.158), fol. 63-82v	xiv	?	?	?
200	Pavia BS Legendarium Paviense, fol. G.4v-H.ij	1523	1661m	Leg.	St Felix, Pavia, ben.
201	Praha KMK E.62.2, fol. 68b-70a	xiv	debate	Misc.	Bohemia
202	Praha KMK E.66, fol. 231a-237a	xiv	epit. prol.	Misc.	?
203	Praha NKČR I.N.23, fol. 220-221v	xv	?	Misc.	?
204	Praha NKČR I.B.17, fol. 195a-201va	xv	epit.	Misc.	?
205	Praha NKČR I.E.18, fol. 190a-192a	1395	epit.	Misc.	?
206	Praha NKČR 8.B.32 (1468), fol. 198b	1405	?	Misc.	?
207	Praha NKČR 6.D.15 (1104), fol. 337b-338b	xv	LA?	Misc.	?
208	Praha NKČR 6.E.1 (1114), fol. 2-30b	xiii-xiv	1663 prol.	VS	?
209	Praha NKČR 8.D.29 (1524), fol. 18v-24b	xiv	1663 prol.	Misc.	?
210	Praha NKČR 14.B.16 (2455), fol. 108va-124a	xiii	1663	VS	?
211	Reims BM 299, fol. 266	xiii-xiv	epit.	Lect.	St Thierry, Reims, ben.?
212	Reims BM 303 (F.467), fol. 150b-152bis b	xii/xiii	epit.	Lect.	St Remi, Reims, ben.
213	Roma Casanatense 1055, fol. 138-153v	xii	1663	Lect.	Haute Fontaine, cist.

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
214	Roma BNC Sessor. 147, fol. 43-47	xiv	1663a	Libellus	St Augustine, Cumis
215	Roma Vallicelliana F.49, fol. 52-71v	1441	1663	VS	?
216	Rouen BP 1388 (U.32), fol. 163va-165va	xii	epit.	VS	St Evroult, ben., or Fécamp?
217	Rouen BP 1394 (U.119), fol. 131-167	xii	1663 prol.	VS	Mortagne, aug.
218	Rouen BP 1399 (U.2), fol. 185m-n, 186-194	xii	1663 prol.	VS	Jumièges, ben.
219	Rouen BP 1415 (U.17), fol. 223vb-225v	xiv/xv?	epit.	Leg.	Fécamp, ben.
220	Sion Chapt. 10, fol. 170-185v	xiii	1663	Misc.	?
221	Sotheby's London, 7th Dec. 1982, Lot 55, fol. 1b-23	1150-1180	?	Misc.	French?
222	St Florian StB XI.252, fol. 234	xiii + xv	1663	Misc.	Wiblingen, ben.
223	St Gallen StaB (Vad.) 70, fol. 135-142v	xiv-xv	1663 prol.	Misc.	St Gallen, ben.
224	St Omer BP 716 vol. viii, fol. 182v-192v	xiii	1663 prol.	LF	Clairmarais, cist.
225	St-Dié-des-Vosges BM 4, fol. 218-225v	xii (xiv)	1663a	Lect.	St Dié, ben.
226	Stuttgart WLB HB.XIV.18, fol. 97v-106	xiv	1663	Passionale	Weingarten, ben.
227	Torino Nat. I.V.36, fol. 17-23 [<i>destr.</i>]	xii + xiii	1661m	VS	Staffarda, cist.
228	Treviso BC 1818, fol. 1a-22	xv	1663	Misc.	?
229	Trier BS 33 (olim R.I.8), fol. 120-123v	xv	1663a	Leg.	St Paul, Trier, coll.
230	Trier BS 34 (R.I.9), fol. 190v-191	xv	?	Misc.	Eucharis-Matth., Trier, ben.
231	Trier BS 36 (R.I.12), fol. 163-177v	<i>post</i> 1235	1663	Leg.	St Maximinus, Trier, ben.
232	Trier BS 98 (R.V.I.I), fol. 118-120v?	xiii	1664b	VS	Eucharis-Matth., Trier, ben.
233	Trier Bistumsarchiv Abt. 95 Nr. 62, fol. 126v-137v	xii-xiii	epit.	VS	Helmarshausen, then Abdinghof, ben.
234	Trier StaB 388/1152 2o, fol. 116v + 117-118v	xi-xii	epit.	Pass.	St Simeon, Trier, priory
235	Trier StaB 535/1531 8o, fol. 187v-189	xiii/xiv	?	Misc.	St Matthias, Trier, ben.
236	Trier StaB 1050/1261 8o, fol. 226v	1130-1170	1661m	Misc.	Eucharis-Matth., Trier, ben.
237	Trier StaB 1140/443 8o, fol. 17-41	xv	1663	Leg.	Trier, jes.

	City, library, call-mark, folios	Date	Text	Contents	Provenance
238	Trier StaB 2002/92 4o, fol. 83-95	xv ⁱⁿ	1663	Leg.	Mettlach, Jesuits of Trier
239	Troyes BM 1876, fol. 121v-140	xiii-xiv	1663 prol.	Misc.	Clairvaux, cist.
240	Valenciennes BM 513 (471A), fol. 188vb-202a	1145-1169	1663 prol.	Lect.	St Amand-en-Pévèle, ben.
241	Vaticano BAV Pal.lat. 362, fol. 71	1401-1500	epit.	Misc.	Frankenthal, aug.
242	Vaticano AC San Pietro A.8 (olim G), fol. 410-412	xv	epit. prol.	Lect.	Basilica St Pietro
243	Vaticano AC San Pietro A.9 (olim H), fol. 220-221v	1339	epit. prol.	Lect.	Basilica St Pietro
244	Vercelli BCap 12 (olim 68), fol. 284v-289v	xiv	1661m	?	?
245	Verdun BM 1, fol. 119b-120	xiii	epit.	Lect.	St Vanne, Verdun, ben.
246	Wien ÖNB 452 (Hist.eccl. 97), fol. 1-3	xiii	1663 prol.	Libellus	?
247	Wien ÖNB 1321 (Theol. 618), fol. 100va-113a	xiii	1663	Misc.	?
248	Wien ÖNB 1570 (Theol. 363), fol. 39a-52a	xiii	epit.	Misc.	?
249	Wien ÖNB s.n. 3610, fol. 131v	xii/xiii	1663	Misc.	Lambach, ben. ?
250	Wien ÖNB s.n. 12754, fol. 265v-276	xv	1663?	Leg.	Corsendonck Anvers, aug.
251	Wien ÖNB s.n. 12835, fol. 126-131v	xv	1663	Misc.	?
252	Wolfenbüttel HAB August. 35.1.Aug.4o, fol. 187-194	xv	?	Misc.	Strasbourg cath. ?
253	Wolfenbüttel HAB Helmst. 504, fol. 10-40	xiv	1663	VS	?
254	Wolfenbüttel HAB Helmst. 396, fol. 10-36	xv	1663?	Misc.	Braunschweig, ben.
255	Würzburg UB M.p.th.f.122, fol. 58va-67v	xiv	?	VV & Misc.	Ebrach, cist., Italy & Germany
256	Würzburg UB M.ch.f.121, fol. 260-261	1430	?	Misc.	St Jakob, Würzburg, ben.
257	Zürich ZB Rh. 18, fol. 282-287v	1150-1200	1661m	Lect.	Rheinau, ben.
258	Zürich ZB Rh. 101, fol. 8v-29	1300	1663	Libellus	?
259	Zwettl StB 15, fol. 17va-21	xii ⁱⁿ	1663a prol.	MLA	Zwettl, cist.
260	Zwettl StB 71, fol. 142b-145b	xii ^{ex}	epit.	Pass.	Zwettl, cist.

Appendix to chapter 4 – edition and discussion of Angers 121, fol. 274-280

The epitome in Angers 121 is an example of how quickly the *Vulgate* was subject to abbreviation, probably within decades of composition. An account such as the *Vulgate*, with its numerous religious debates and repetitive scenes, was too long to be read in church or on a single feast day. As mentioned, this text is divided into twelve *lectiones* which would have been read, for instance, at meal-times.

The Angers-epitome is the result of a radical cutting down, and two aspects may be noted in particular. The process of cutting was one of simply getting rid of anything that seemed unnecessary. There has been almost no intervention in the 'new' product, no attempt to smooth over from one passage to the next.

More surprising, however, is the omission of the centre-piece of the *Vulgate*, the *sine qua non*: the entire encounter between Katherine and the philosophers has been left out completely, although the fourth reading – when Katherine awaits her 'battle' in prison – does prepare the reader/audience for the dispute that is to come. Phrases such as *sola contra quinquaginta viros pugnatura* (Dob. 292) or *expectat quam mox invitetur ad laborem certaminis* (Dob. 322) imply that the epitomizer was working from a complete text and was perhaps not very concerned or able to create a new text with a solid storyline.

In the same way, the construction of the wheel – another essential feature of Katherine's Passion – has been omitted. This leaves the emperor's decision to have the queen tortured without an antecedent, and is thus another indication of the epitomizer's disregard for a logical dénouement of the story.

I have transcribed the Angers-epitome in order to illustrate how this early epitome was created, but also because it can shed some light on the state of the text of the *Vulgate* in the eleventh century. Whenever the Angers-epitome differs from Dobson's edition, it generally shares errors with other French manuscripts, mainly the

two manuscripts EO (which belong to the group EJOS, all of which have a French provenance).⁵⁵

In the following I set out the groupings that result from a comparison of the Angers epitome with Dobson's edition of the *Vulgate*, and then present an edition of the text.

SIGLA

M: Paris lat. 1970, s. xi, prov. Fécamp.

G: Bruxelles 18018, s. xi, prov. Lobbes.

E: Bern BB 137, s. xii, prov. Ile-de-France(?).

J: Rouen 1394 (U.119), s. xii, prov. Mortagne.

O: Paris lat. , s. xi, prov. Vendôme.

S: Paris lat. 5365, s. xii, Limoges.

NB: Reference is to Dobson's line numbers and edition.

Angers and EJOS in error

82: exhaurierat] exhauriret

123: coæternam] æternam

124: formam] *om.*

314: resistere] *om.*⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Dobson, *Seinte Katerine*, p. 135-36: 'EJOS form a recognizable group. O .. has at least 140 non-original readings identical with, or clearly related to, those of E, and over 60 similarly shared with or related to those of J and/or S; EO form a subgroup within the larger EJOS group. O may represent, though imperfectly, an early stage in the development of the group, since it often retains original readings when one or more of the other three diverge, but it has its own peculiar errors where the others are correct [*There is no evidence for this in the apparatus. Dobson was perhaps influenced by the date of O.*]; and J and S often have original readings when EO agree on non-original ones. ... A second group (less clearly marked because it consists mostly of much more accurate copies) comprises M, W, Λ, and Brussels 10374-7. ... G has a more remote connection with the group; in particular it shares errors with Λ and with Brussels 10374-7.'

715: hunc] *om.*

1067: dico] *om.*

1093: effatam] affatam

1102: Christum me] me Christum

1145: olei] *om.*

EO and Angers in error but JS are not

722: abhorruisset] abhorret EO, abhorreret Angers

745: ab ipso] ab illo

849: corporalem] *om.*

1039: sepulture humane] humane sepulture

1054: irreparabile] irrecuperabile EO, inrecuperabilem Angers

EO in error but Angers is not

103: contactas] constratas E, contractas *cor.* constratas O

303: qui] omnes qui

697: puellam] *post* hanc

731: mox] sed mox

1009: huius] *om.*

1035: consentiam] conspiciam

1058: adhaerebant] assistebant

1086: spectaculum] exemplum

1114: quacumque] qualicumque

1134: redde expletum] imple

⁵⁶ NB : this is the only instance in Dobon's apparatus where JOS are in error but E is not. It therefore seems likely that he forgot to report it. Otherwise, it would be a slip from the rule at p. 135 of Dobson and hard to explain.

S on its own in error

83: amatoria carmina] amatoris crimina

87: argutia] grammatica

118: nos] *om.*

310: ex qua] ex quia

311: cui] ait ei

682: frueretur] sustentata fuerat

683: ingenita bonitate] ingenuitate

712: disceptare] decertare

728: de prima vigilia] prima hora

749: celica] celestia

841: carcerarios] carcerarium

1079: martyrum] martirium

J on its own in error

112: mandatorum] *om.*

118: avocat] revocat

298: minis] mons

678: de²] dum

715: deum] ad deum

731: mox] moxque

745: tibi] *om.*

Angers clearly shares errors with EJOS. Further, Angers clearly shares errors with EO when JS are correct. At the same time, there are a number of cases when EO are in error but Angers is not. S is in error on its own on many more occasions than J, which has only a limited number of errors all to its own. Angers also has a number of individual errors not found in any of the other manuscripts recorded by Dobson; most of them are omissions or misreadings, but there are also a few additions and alterations :

Omissions

124: et] *om.*

729: undique] *om.*

1061: ullatenus] *om.*

Misreadings:

696: mature] nature

318: suscepta] recepta

751: dulce] dulcis

Additions:

292: contra quinquaginta pugnatura] contra quinquaginta viros pugnatura

1019: ultra morentur] ultra morentur explere

Alterations:

1108: annueret] annuit

1108: ipsa] beata igitur Katerina

In addition, Angers does not share any errors with M or G, the two manuscripts from Fécamp and Lobbes respectively. While M preserves a good text with relatively few errors, G has a significant number of errors which it shares with no other manuscripts. Therefore M and G are independent from EJOS and Angers, at least as far as the passages of the epitome are concerned.

G on its own error

305: obmutescant] obminiscant

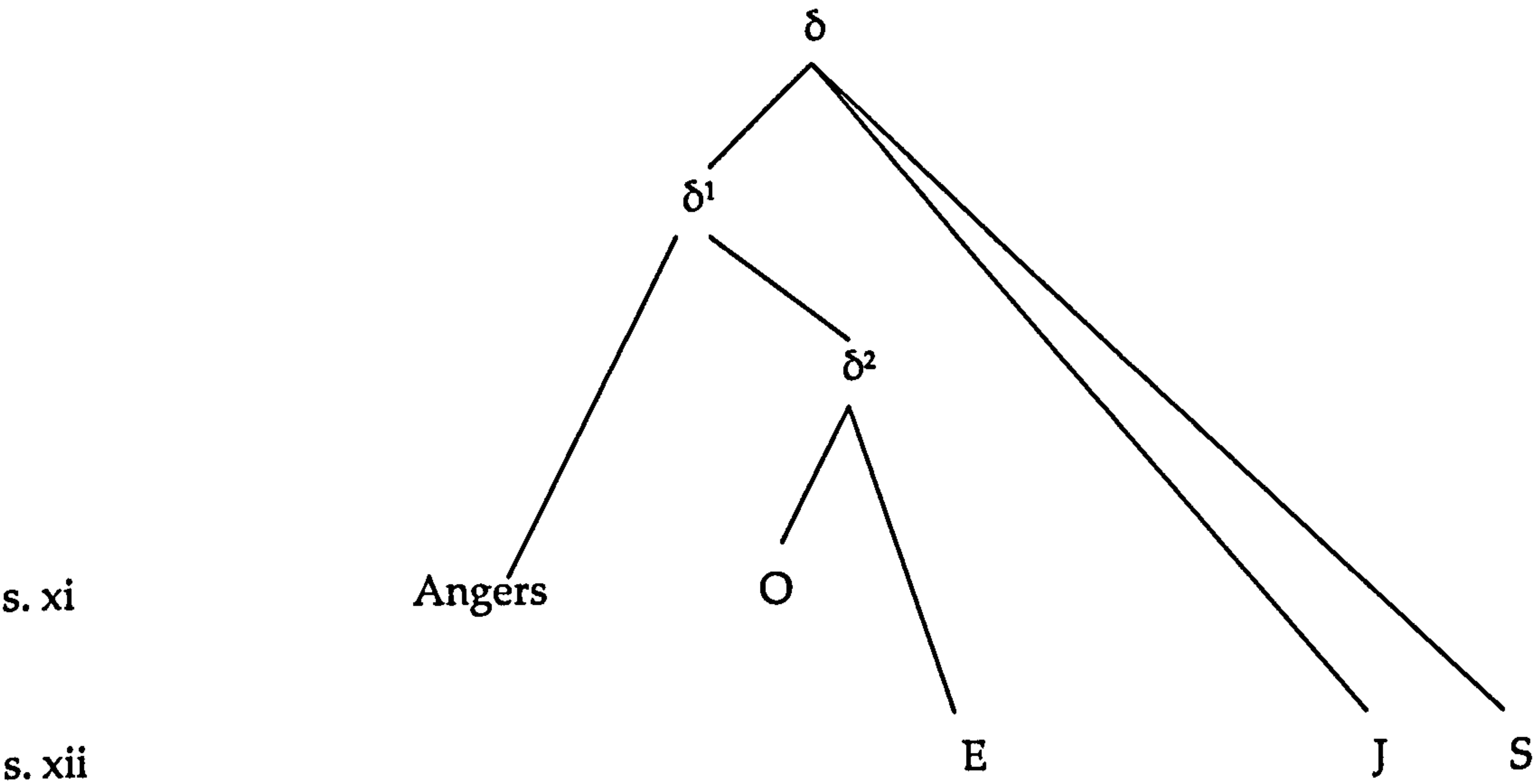
321: discessit] discessit angelus

744: horrorem] horrorem pati

746: ipsius maiestatem] *om.*

- 824: candida] *om.*
- 833: Alexandrinorum] Alexandrinam
- 1016: permanentem] aeternam
- 1065: dixit] ait
- 1083: nostro] meo
- 1123: orationem] orationem virgo sancta

The information gathered above translates into the following stemma :



[Fol. 274rb]

In natalis sanctæ Katerinae virginis et martiris *lectio prima*

[Dob. 71-84]

In urbe Alexandrinorum erat quædam puella annorum duo de viginti, speciosa ualde sed quod pluris est religiosa fide, quæ regis quondam filia unica patre iam defuncto filiæ nomen amiserat, nomine Katerina. Hæc parentum orbata solatio, tenera licet ætate familiam quæ successione hereditaria sibi inhæserat pervigili cura gubernabat, non quia servorum aut ancillarum numerosa turba quod inter prima mortales putant delectabatur, sed quia non sine crimine esse putabat si paternum censum avide retinens, fame et inedia quemlibet eorum perire pateretur, quippe quæ nichil commune habere cum mundo¹ decreuerat²; ³ De his tantum sollicita, ex omni substantia patris paululum sibi reservabat, cetera in usus [fol. 274va] pauperum consumendo patrios thesauros penitus exhauriret⁴. Non ipsa puellares iocos, non amatoria carmina⁵ videre aut audire volebat; divinis tantummodo et⁶ his attentius scripturis insistebat.

*Lectio secunda*⁷

[Dob. 85-104]

Hanc pater, ab annis puerilibus studiis liberalibus imbuendam tradiderat, quibus decenter ornata tunc temporis nulla sophisticæ artis argutia⁸ poterat supplantari. Et quamvis multi experiendi studio litterati obiectis eam quæstionibus attemptassent, stultos se et idiotas recognoscentes eam sane insuperabilem reliquerunt.⁹ Illa custos virginitatis suæ taliter in palatio patris residebat cum ex templo idolorum hinc sonus animalium et tibicinum, hinc multimodum genus organorum auribus ipsius insonuit.

*NB: I have only noted readings from Dobson's second (epitome) apparatus when none were available in the first. The sigla are Dobson's (see *Seinte Katerine*, p. 132-43). Reference is always to Dobson's line numbers.

¹ mundo] struck out and *mondo* added above.

² decreverat] habere commune decreverat Dob 79.

³ Lectio ii (added in margin, later hand).

⁴ exhauriret] EJOS, exhauserat DΘFLMNWY, exhaurierat Dob 82.

⁵ amatoria carmina] amatoris crimina S

⁶ et] ex S

⁷ *secunda* crossed out and *iii* added.

⁸ argutia] grammatica S

⁹ After *reliquerunt* has been added an l-shaped mark, and in the margin next to it: *iiii* (but very faint).

Stupens itaque causam celeriter¹⁰ iubet inquire. Quam cum ex nuntio audisset, assumptis secum aliquibus de familia ad templum usque properavit. Ibi queruloso gemitu deplorantes quosdam inspexit qui se Christianos esse fatebantur, sed metu mortis ad profana sacrificia impelleb-¹¹ [fol. 274vb]-antur. Hinc vehementi dolore cordis sauciata¹², deliberat erroneum huiusmodi sacrificium liberali auctoritate damnare, simul et tyranni male sanum edictum improbare. Tenens itaque paululum intra se silentium, tacita¹³ quidem sed ab alto fudit orationem. Hinc pectus et linguam muniens christi¹⁴ signaculo, audenter ad conspectum imperatoris prorupit, ubi inter cæsorū stragem animalium et aras immundi cruoris sorde contractas¹⁵ supra omnes flagitiosus idolatra eminebat.

*Lectio tertia*¹⁶

[Dob. 105-26]

Introgressa ergo beata virgo, sic ait tyranno: 'salutationem tibi imperator proferre nos et ordinis dignitas et rationis via promonebat, si hæc¹⁷ quæ cultibus demonum exhibes quamquam in nullo proficua sed omnino noxia sint atque damnosa, si hæc inquam creatori tuo impenderes,¹⁸ et solam illius maiestatem adorandam intelligeres¹⁹ per quem mundi²⁰ elementa initium sumpserunt²¹ atque subsistunt, qui non innoxorium cæde animalium, sed fide et salutarium observantia mandatorum²² delectatur. Hunc temeritas huma-²³ [fol. 275ra]-na in nullo perniciosius offendit quam ut rationalis creatura rebus insensibilibus cultum divinitatis exhibeat, et honorem invisibilis

¹⁰ celeriter] celerifex p.c., celeriter OW, celeranter Dob 93.

¹¹ from *gemitu* until *impelleb* writing has been retraced in a later hand.

¹² sauciata] sautiatur O

¹³ tacita] tacita U, tacitam EAW, tacit a.c. M, tacitus p.c. M, tacite Dob 100.

¹⁴ muniens Christi] Christi muniens Dob 101, *muniens Christi* D.

¹⁵ contractas] JNW, a.c. O, p.c. Λ², constratas E, p.c. O, contactas Dob 103.

¹⁶ *tertia* crossed out, *v* added

¹⁷ hæc] hæc DEJNOSY, hæc ista Dob 108.

¹⁸ *impederes*, *n* added above to correct to *impenderes*, in original hand.

¹⁹ *per quem reges regnant* in Dob 110. Also missing in Λ; *saut du même au même*, independent error.

²⁰ l-shaped sign (but on its head) added after *mundi*.

²¹ sign added to demarcate new paragraph (as in modern editing).

²² mandatorum] *om.* J

²³ from *atque* until *huma* writing has been retraced.

maiestatis ad visibiles transferat creaturas.²⁴ Etenim malorum omnium inventor diabolus inter omnes scelerum suorum artes nulla dubios perniciosius appetit, nec alias a Dei cultu subtilius avocat²⁵ quam ut cum sciamus nos²⁶ Deo soli debere quod formamur et nascimur, hæc omnia elementis mundi ascribi debere suadeat, quibus vos divinitatis numen attribuitis²⁷ et apposis nominibus, pro Deo singula atque universa veneramini, nulla alia ratione in hanc erroneam opinionem traducti nisi quod æternam²⁸ Deo essentiam in se servare videntur. Quæ plane a Deo ex nichilo facta sunt, ²⁹ in hanc mundi ³⁰ mirabili conspiratione sociata. Quæ sicut initium ex Dei creatione sumpserunt, ita perennitatem eius beneficio consequuntur.

Lectio quarta

[Dob. 292-322]

Servabatur interea virgo sancta sub custodia, sola contra quinquaginta viros³¹ pugnatura. Cui nuntius supervenit de consilio [fol. 275rb] regis et de conflictu in crastinum constituto. Nichil tamen ex his famula Christi turbatur, sed inperterrita miliciæ suæ agonem Domino commendabat dicens: 'o sapientia et Dei virtus altissimi Iesu bone qui tuos milites, ne inter pressuras mundi formidarent³² ne³³ minis adversantium turbarentur, pia eos consolatione præmunire dignatus es dicens: "dum steteritis ante reges et præsides nolite præcogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini. Ego enim dabo vobis os et sapientiam cui non poterunt resistere et contradicere omnes adversarii vestri." Adesto famulæ tuæ et da sermonem rectum et bene sonantem in os

²⁴ from *atque* until *huma*, and from *na* until *creaturas* writing has been crossed out by two crosses, one at the bottom of the column, the second at the top of the next. After *creaturas* another paragraph-demarcation has been added.

²⁵ *avocat*] *revocat* J

²⁶ *nos*] *om.* S

²⁷ *attributis*, *i* added above to correct to *attribuitis* in same hand.

²⁸ *æternam*] EJOS, *coæternam* Dob 123.

²⁹ *in*] *et in* Dob 124.

³⁰ *mundi*] EJOS, *mundi Formam* Dob 124.

³¹ *viros*] *om.* Dob 292.

³² *formidarent*] *formidarent* P²QHZ (= epitome 1663a), *formidare debuissent* Dob 297.

³³ Looks like *u* at the end has been erased (*neu*). *Ne*] *ne* LNS, *neue* EFJO, *nec* CDIWY, *neu* Dob 298.

meum, ut hi qui³⁴ ad derogandum nomini tuo convenerunt non prævaleant adversum me, sed verbi tui virtute consternati, hebetatis sensibus aut penitus obmutescant aut conversi, nomini tuo dent honorem et gloriam, qui solus cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu es et eris gloriosus in sæcula, amen.’ Necdum verba compleverat et ecce angelus Domini apparuit illi, cuius vultus claritate locus quo virgo clausa tenebatur mira chorsatione fulgurabat, ex qua³⁵ uirgo stupore et ammiratione pæne defecerat. [fol. 275va] Cui³⁶ angelus: ‘ne paveas’, inquit, ‘grata Deo puella, sed constanter age quia tecum est Dominus pro cuius honore certamen inisti. Ipse affluentis verbi impetum fundet in ore tuo cui non tantum non³⁷ prævalebunt³⁸ adversarii, sed novo stuporis genere confusi convertentur ad Christum, et hii cum palma martyrii intra uitæ ianuam recepti,, multos ad fidem suo roborabunt exemplo. Tu autem brevi tempore cursum certaminis tui victoriosa morte consummabis, et sic intra³⁹ choros virgineos recepta⁴⁰ immortalis sponso perenniter adhærebis. Ego sum Michael archangelus testamenti Dei, missus a Deo hæc tibi evangelizare.’ His dictis continuo discessit ab ea. Ad hanc vocem virgo Dei in agonia roborata, expectat quam mox invitetur ad laborem certaminis.

Lectio quinta

[Dob. 674-96]

Accidit autem ut Maxentius pro causis instantibus extrema regionis confinia adiret. Pernotuit interea reginæ crudelissima uiri sententia de beata Katerina, qualiter innocentem virginem per sapientes sæculi tractasset et quomodo illi puellaribus verbis [fol. 275vb] evicti et ad fidem Christi conversi gloriosa passione de mundo⁴¹ emigrassent. De⁴² quo facto vir eius indignatus dum virgo diis libamina offerre nolisset, diris eam

³⁴ qui] omnes qui EO

³⁵ qua] quia S

³⁶ cui] ait ei S

³⁷ non] om. E

³⁸ prævalebunt] prævalebunt JOS, prævalebunt resistere Dob 314.

³⁹ intra] intra EJO, inter Dob 318.

⁴⁰ recepta] suscepta Dob 318.

⁴¹ de mundo] om. S

⁴² de] cum J

scorpionibus cæsam⁴³ sub arta custodia carceris iussit recludi, ubi per duodenos dies iuxta crudelis regis sententiam puella innocens nullo cibi alimento frueretur⁴⁴. Audiens regina ferale coniugis edictum, licet gentili errore teneretur, tamen animi ingenita bonitate⁴⁵ tenere ætatis sortem miseratur iniquam. Fit anxia videre faciem uirginis et colloqui, sed ne id persentiscat vir eius uehementer formidat. Talia meditando regiam domum solitaria deambulabat. Fit illi optato eventu obviam princeps miliciæ quidam nomine Porphirius, vir strenuus et quantum ad temporalem sæculi dignitatem consilio prudens, fide promptus, amici secretum intra claustra silentii constantissime servans. Hunc ad se evocans imperatrix Augusta aperit ei voluntatem suam, simulque postulat ut amotis aut placatis custodibus carceris visu et colloquio [fol. 276ra, change of hand, 30 lines] virginis potiretur. ‘Nam ut tibi’, inquit, ‘Porphiri quæ me sollicitant aperiam, multa⁴⁶ hac in nocte per visum passa sum, quorum ambigua revelatio me adeo suspensam reddit ut quocumque se horum exitus, sive in adversum sive in prosperum vertat, eorum sane eventum nature⁴⁷ superventurum certissime cognoscām.

Lectio sexta

[Dob. 697-727]

Videbam sane hanc de qua loquimur puellam⁴⁸ intra sæpta domicilii sedentem inæstimabili claritate circumfultam et uiros dealbatos circumsedentes, quorum vultus inspicere præ claritate haud poteram. Illa autem me intuens iubet propius accedere et de manu unius horum qui assistebant coronam auream accipiens capiti meo imponebat, dicens michi hæc uerba: “ecce tibi o imperatrix corona mittitur⁴⁹ a domino meo Iesu Christo.” Qua ex visione suspensa nec somnum capere nec horæ unius momento quiescere possum, ita cor tremulum me ad videndam virginem ex-[fol. 276rb]-agitat. Per te ergo michi viam ad puellam eundi et videndi facultatem dari precor, o Porphiri.’ Cui

⁴³ eam scorpionibus cæsam] scorpionibus eam cæsam P¹ (= epitome 1663a), cæsam scorpionibus Dob 680.

⁴⁴ frueretur] sustentata fuerat S

⁴⁵ ingenita bonitate] ingenuitate S

⁴⁶ multa] CEFJNAOS, michi *erased* LM, multa michi Dob 693.

⁴⁷ nature] mature Dob 696.

⁴⁸ hanc de qua loquimur puellam] Dob 697, hanc puellam de quam loquimur EO.

⁴⁹ mittitur] e cælo mittitur Dob 703.

Porphirius respondit: 'tuum est, domina Augusta, imperare quod vis. Michi perficere quæ iubeas animo constat. Unde et me ad hoc ipsum promptum invenies famulum licet imperatoris iram sciam pro certo me non posse vitare si rescierit⁵⁰. Nam de puella de qua loqueris crudeliter ab imperatore actum constat, quia et ego interfui quando ab externis finibus sapientes convocatos disceptare⁵¹ adversus puellam constituit et promissis muneribus si victam redderent vehementer incitavit. Illi autem adversus eam stare nec una hora⁵² prævaluerunt, sed ilico conversi deum⁵³ quem puella prædicabat publice fatebantur. Unde et indignatus imperator omnes ignibus tradi imperavit. In quibus illud mirabile vidi⁵⁴ et ego, quod in his omnibus nec in capillis aut in vestimentis ulla ignis læsio comparuit. Qua ex re fateor, o regina, ex illo die sic verba illius quibus [fol. 276va] ipsa deos nostros exprobavit, sic, inquam, cor meum titillando sollicitant ut quicquid diis exhibemus totum frivolum reputem et inane. Unde nisi lex nostra Christianorum sectam penitus abhorreret⁵⁵, facile quis poterat me ad Christi cultum⁵⁶ impellere. Sed tu quoniam oportune ut puto consilium meum præveniando communes, quid restat nisi ut custodes carceris mercede ad consilium nostrum inflectamus ut et ipsi celare hoc ipsum studeant?' Nec mora: Prophirius ad consensum custodes emollivit.

Lectio septima

[Dob. 728-52]

Igitur de prima vigilia⁵⁷ noctis regina et Prophirius procedunt ad carcerem et introeuntes inæstimabili claritate carcerem coruscare viderunt⁵⁸ cuius ex fulgore perterriti corruerunt in terram. Mox⁵⁹ inæstimabilis odor suavitatis naribus eorum⁶⁰

⁵⁰ rescierit] scierit S

⁵¹ disceptare] decertare S

⁵² una hora] IL, hora una Dob 714.

⁵³ deum] EOS, ad deum J, deum hunc Dob 715.

⁵⁴ vidi] O, contigisse vidi Dob 717.

⁵⁵ abhorreret] abhorret EJO, abhorruisset Dob 722.

⁵⁶ Christi cultum] NS, cultum Christi Dob 723.

⁵⁷ de prima vigilia] prima hora S

⁵⁸ inæstimabili claritate carcerem coruscare viderunt] viderunt carcerem inæstimabili claritate undique coruscare Dob 729, viderunt *post* coruscare DEJOS.

⁵⁹ mox] mox Dob 731, sed mox EO, moxque J, et mox S.

⁶⁰ naribus eorum] L, eorum naribus N, naribus Dob 731.

infusus ad spem meliorem confortavit. ‘Surgite’, inquit uirgo egregia, ‘et ne paveatis quia et vos Christus vocat ad palmam.’ Surgentes autem contemplati sunt puellam sedentem, et angelos Dei [fol. 276vb] plagas et carnis scissuras⁶¹ aromatico unguine circumfoventes quibus caro et cutis superficies in admirabilem decorem vertebantur. Vident etiam et seniores circumsedentes quorum vultus inedicibili⁶² candore emicabant. Horum ab uno qui astabat Christi virgo coronam accepit velut aureo colore rutilantem, et reginæ capiti imposuit, dixitque circumsedentibus senioribus : ‘hæc est⁶³, domini mei, de qua postulaveram regina quam militiæ et coronæ nostræ a Deo consortem michi depoposceram. Sed et hunc qui assistit militem in nostræ sortis numerum ascribi volumus.’ Ad hæc illi inquiunt : ‘o preciosa Christi margarita, super his preces tuas ille suscepit pro cuius amore flagella et carceris horrorem non timuisti. Sed æterno⁶⁴ fœdere ab illo⁶⁵ collatum tibi⁶⁶ esse constat ut pro quibuscumque ipsius maiestatem interpellaveris impetratum reportes⁶⁷. Hos interim qui visitationis gratia tibi assistunt scito inter primitias laborum tuorum iam ascriptos quos triumphali [fol. 277ra] passione ante te cælica regna excipient coronatos. Mox militiæ agone peracto te ille immortalis sponsus intra uitæ æternæ ianuam suscipiet ubi tibi modulis dulcis⁶⁸ sonoris, cælica⁶⁹ organa resonabunt, ubi clarissima virginum turba inter lilia roseis floribus vernantia sequuuntur agnum quocumque ierit.’

Lectio octava

[Dob. 821-52]

Servabatur interea Christi virgo in carcere iuxta edictum imperatoris. Et quia bisseis diebus sine alimento eam esse tyrannus iusserat, qui Daniele per prophetam in lacu leonum pavit ipse innocentem puellam per hos dies missa de cælo candida columba

⁶¹ carnis scissuras] Dob 734, scissuras carnis DELO.

⁶² iænedicibili] inædicibili lucis Dob 737 = lucis *erased* J, lucis *struck through* O.

⁶³ est] est illa Dob 740.

⁶⁴ æterno] NOW, et æterno Dob 745.

⁶⁵ illo] O, *i.l.* E, ipso Dob 745.

⁶⁶ tibi] *om.* J

⁶⁷ reportes] *p.c.* Θ, C²DA, reportabis Dob (Λ²) 746.

⁶⁸ dulcis] dulce Dob 751.

⁶⁹ cælica] cælestia S

fovere non destitit. Expletis vero diebus apparuit ei Dominus cum multitudine angelorum quem sequebatur innumera turba virginum. Cui Dominus: ‘agnosce’, inquit, ‘filia, agnosce auctorem tuum pro cuius nomine laboriosum⁷⁰ certaminis cursum coepisti. Constans esto et ne paveas [fol. 277rb] quia ego tecum sum nec te desero, est etenim non parva turba hominum per te nomini meo creditura.’ Hæc dicens in cælum sese recepit que virgo longo euntem intuitu sequebatur. At vero imperator expletis causis pro quibus ierat Alexandrinorum redit ad urbem. Postera die sedente eo in solio suo fit conventus magistratuum et tribuniciæ dignitatis. Tunc rex circumstantibus: ‘præsentetur nobis’, inquit, ‘temeraria illa puella ut sciamus si vel fame urgente ad culturam deorum poterit incurvari.’ Educitur itaque de carcere virgo speciosa tribunali regio præsentanda. Quæ cum in eius staret præsentia vultumque illius quem tanto dierum spacio attenuatum ieiunio æstimarat, multo formosiores et splendidiores esse videret arbitrabatur clandestino officio ei subministrata alimenta. Unde furore commotus carcerarios⁷¹ iubet excruciarī nisi fateantur a quo et per quem virgo cibus in carcere fuisset sustentata. At Christi virgo ne custodes sui causa innocenter⁷² cruciarentur cogitur [fol. 277va] aperire quod clam esse hominibus malebat. Ait itaque tyranno: ‘tu, imperator, hunc locum inter homines tenere debueras ut noxios corrigeres, non ut innocentes cruciaries. Verumtamen te locum iudicis indigne tenere ex hoc manifestum est quod homines ab hac, si qua est culpa, innoxios perire infando iubes iudicio. Ego plane cibum ab homine⁷³ nullum accepi, sed qui suos milites in fame et tribulatione deserere nescit, ipse me, ancillam suam, per angelum suum⁷⁴ cælestis cibi alimento nutrire dignatus est. Ipse Deus meus, amator meus, ipse pastor et sponsus unicus meus.’

⁷⁰ laboriosum] ΣQ (= epitome 1663a), laboriosi certaminis Dob 828.

⁷¹ carcerarios] carcerarium S

⁷² innocenter] innocentes S

⁷³ nullum] EO, corporalem nullum Dob 849.

⁷⁴ angelum suum] O, suum Dob 851.

Lectio nona

[Dob. 1004-42]

Iubet ergo⁷⁵ crudelis tyrannus ministris contemptibiliter regiam apprehendere matronam et transfixas clavis ferreis mamillas ab imo pectore extorqueri. Quæ cum ad locum supplicii duceretur respiciens ad beatam Katerinam dixit: 'o veneranda Christi virgo, funde preces ad Dominum pro cuius nomine certaminis huius⁷⁶ luctamen apprehendi ut infra instantem passionis huius articulum [fol. 277vb] confirmet cor meum ne caro infirma mentem cogat imbellem deficere, ne coronam quam militibus suis a Christo promissam contestabaris ego metu passionis amittam.' Ad quam preciosa uirgo⁷⁷: 'ne timeas', inquit, 'o veneranda et Deo dilecta regina sed uiriliter age quia hodie tibi pro transitorio regno commutabitur æternum, pro mortali sponso immortalem tibi acquires, pro pœnis requiem permanentem, pro celeri obitu interminabilis uitæ hodie percipies natale principium.' Ad hanc vocem venerabilis matrona in agonia robustior effecta tortores sponte hortatur ne tyrannica iussa ultra morentur explere⁷⁸. Tunc ministri extra civitatem eam ducentes ferreis hastilibus regias mamillas traiciunt et sic suspensas ab imo crudeliter pectore⁷⁹ mammas evellunt. Dehinc gladio percussa felici martyrio migravit ad Christum, vicesima tertia die mensis [fol. 278ra] Novembris feria quarta. Porphirius vero noctu assumptis secum quibus secretum suum palam esse voluit, corpus reginæ et martyris conditum aromatibus sepelivit. Mane autem facto fit quæstio de corpore reginæ quis illud sustulisset. De quo cum multos ad supplicium pertrahi videret Porphirius, constanter ante tribunal imperatoris irruit dicens: 'quid tu homines innoxios puniri mandasti, imperator, velut sacrilegii reos, quos potius defensos esse oportuerat, si te naturæ religio humana corpora a feris et volatilibus tollenda⁸⁰ esse docuisset? Qua in re vesano te spiritu agitari manifestum est qui humanis corporibus nec etiam sepulturam indulges. Quæ etenim gens tam barbara huiusmodi iudicium edidit ut vel cadauer exanime terræ matris

⁷⁵ ergo] ENOS, igitur Dob 1004.

⁷⁶ huius] Dob 1009, om. EO.

⁷⁷ virgo] Dob 1013, virago MAO.

⁷⁸ morentur explere] morentur Dob 1019.

⁷⁹ pectore] Dob 1021, a pectore O.

⁸⁰ tollenda] toleranda S

gremio sepeliri prohiberet? Verumtamen antequam innocentes perire consentiam⁸¹ si reos esse iudicas eos qui⁸² Christi martyrem [fol. 278rb] sepelierunt, reatum huiusmodi non reformido. Condemna certe, si audes, quod contra imperium tuum Chriſi famulam sepelivi. O expetendum cunctis fidelibus crimen humanæ sepulturæ⁸³! Utinam et hoc michi obicias ut ceteri relaxentur. Certe hoc crimine solus ego periclitari desidero, nam ego sum qui gloriosam Christi martyrem et ego Christi confessor sepulturæ gremio accumulavi.'

Lectio decima

[Dob. 1042-77]

Tunc⁸⁴ tyrannus velut alto vulnere saucius pro planctu rugitum velut amens altum emisit quo tota regia pertonuit⁸⁵: 'o, o me miserum, o omnibus miserandum! Ut quid me in hanc ærumnosam uitam natura mater edidit, cui tollitur omne quod nostri imperii præcipue summa requirit? Ecce Porphirius qui erat unicus animæ meæ custos et totius laboris solatium, in quem ab omni cura et sollicitudine reclinabar velut singulare michi præsidium, ecce hic nescio qua dæmonum infestatione supplantatus deorum nostrorum culturam asperantur et illum Iesum, quem vesana turba Christianorum pro Deo colit, utpote mente captus [fol. 278va] publica voce profitetur. Hic nimirum reginam a lege patria et cultura deorum subvertit, nec alias quærendus nobis est coniugalis dementiæ architectus. Et quamvis inrecuperabilem⁸⁶ michi damnum de coniuge ab eo constet illatum, hoc potius eligo ut resipiscens ab hac stultitia deos sibi placabiles reddat et in nostra ut cœperat amicitia perduret quam nostræ animadversionis sententiam experiatur.' His dictis, iussit omnes commilitones ipsius qui lateri eius adhærebant⁸⁷ coram se adduci. Quibus seorsum advocatis, dum de Porphirii conversione

⁸¹ consentiam] Dob 1035, conspiciam EO.

⁸² eos qui] qui Dob 1036.

⁸³ humanæ sepulturæ] EO, sepulturæ humanæ Dob 1039.

⁸⁴ tunc] hic Dob 1042, hinc GLW.

⁸⁵ pertonuit] intonuit S

⁸⁶ inrecuperabilem] irrecurabile EO, irreparabile Dob 1054.

⁸⁷ adhærebant] Dob 1058, assistebant EO.

quæstionem faceret omnes una voce se Christianos esse protestantur⁸⁸ nec metu mortis a fide Christi et Porphirii societate ⁸⁹ dilapsuros. Hinc⁹⁰ tyrannus aliquos eorum putans terrore pœnarum appposito⁹¹ posse revocari, iubet eos exquisitis cruciari suppliciis. Quos cum ad locum supplicii pertrahi Porphirius intueretur, timens ne timore passionis mentes eorum turbarentur dixit tyranno: ‘quid hoc imperator sibi vult, quod horum [fol. 278vb] principem et caput dimittis, me, inquam⁹², et membra inferiora persequeris? Nam nisi me victum primo reddideris inanem in his laborem consumis. Ab his ergo quærere si quid habes, ego pro eis tibi asto rationem redditurus.’ Dicit ei tyrannus: ‘tu caput et princeps horum es ut asseris. Opportunum est ut tu de te istis præbeas exemplum, videlicet ut primus ab hac stultitia resipiscas et nobiscum gloriose viuas, aut certe primus gladio intereas.’ Ita locutus iubet hunc cum ceteris commilitonibus suis extra civitatem trahi et amputatis capitibus corpora inhumata canibus corrodenda emitti. Quod et factum est; consummata itaque est horum passio mense Novembrio die vicesima quarta, feria quinta.

Lectio undecima

[Dob. 1078-1108]

Postera autem die sedens pro tribunali impiissimus tyrannus necdum martyrum⁹³ sanguine saciatus, beatam Katerinam iubet sibi præsentari. Cui sic ait: ‘quamquam tu omnium horum rea sis quos arte magica depravatos [fol. 279ra] mortis compendium subire fecisti, si tamen ab erroris proposito animum⁹⁴ revocares et diis omnipotentibus thura offerres, poteras nobiscum feliciter regnare et prima⁹⁵ in regno nostro nominari. Ne nos ergo diutius protrahas. Quod vis e⁹⁶ duobus unum elige: aut maturius aris

⁸⁸ protestantur] protestabantur Dob 1061, fatebantur DA.

⁸⁹ dilapsuros] ullatenus dilapsuros Dob 1062.

⁹⁰ hinc] G, hic Dob 1062.

⁹¹ appposito] a proposito Dob 1063.

In Angers, the ‘curl’ to indicate the abbreviation for *pro* is very faint, and could be a later addition.

⁹² inquam] EJOS, inquam dico Dob 1067.

⁹³ martyrum] martirium S

⁹⁴ animum *add. s.l.* same hand.

⁹⁵ prima] prima adhuc S

⁹⁶ e] O, ex Dob 1084.

libamina offeras⁹⁷ aut hodie a cervice gladio caput avulsum miserabile præbebit intuentibus spectaculum⁹⁸.’ Cui virgo respondit⁹⁹: ‘non est’, inquiens¹⁰⁰, ‘miserabile spectaculum cui hodie¹⁰¹ de occasu ortus succedit gloriosus, de morte immortalitas,¹⁰² de tristitia gaudia mercantur æterna. Te ergo protrahere diutius tiranne non quæro. Fac quæcumque animo concepisti, paratam me esse videbis ad omnia sustinenda quæ michi inferre potueris, dum regem meum videre et virginalibus choris agnum sequentibus interesse merear.’ Sic affatam¹⁰³, tyrannus furiali spiritu debriatus, Christi virginem a conspectu suo abstractam iubet extra civitatis portam decol-[*fol. 279rb*]-lari. Quæ cum ad locum passionis¹⁰⁴ prefixum properaret, respiciens vidit turbam multam virorum et mulierum sequentium se atque plangentium, inter quas præcipue virgines et matronæ nobiles lamentabantur. Conversa ergo¹⁰⁵ ad illas dixit: ‘o generosæ matronæ, o uirgines clarissimæ, nolite obsecro passionem meam lamentabili planctu onerare, sed si naturæ pietas vos ulla erga me incitat ad miserationem, congaudete precor michi potius quia video me Christum¹⁰⁶ vocantem qui est amor meus, rex et sponsus meus, qui est merces copiosa sanctorum, decus et corona virginum. Vos vero planctum istum lacrimabilem quem inaniter in me deperditis in vos ipsas convertite, ne vos in hoc gentilitatis errore dies suprema deprehendat pro quo fletus æternos subeatis.’ Hæc locuta a percussore orandi spacium indulgeri sibi poposcit. [*fol. 279va*] Quod¹⁰⁷ spiculator annuit¹⁰⁸.

⁹⁷ offeras] ENOW, inferas Dob 1085.

⁹⁸ spectaculum] Dob 1086, exemplum EO.

⁹⁹ respondit] EJLOS, respondens Dob 1087.

¹⁰⁰ inquiens] EJOS Λ^2 , inquit Dob 1087.

¹⁰¹ cui hodie] EJOS Λ^2 , cui Dob 1087.

¹⁰² de mærore iocunditas *in* Dob 1088.

¹⁰³ affatam] EJOS, effatam Dob 1093.

¹⁰⁴ passionis] EJOS, *p.c.* C, passioni Dob 1095.

¹⁰⁵ ergo] igitur Dob 1098.

¹⁰⁶ me Christum] EJOS, Christum me Dob 1102.

¹⁰⁷ quod] quod cum Dob 1108.

¹⁰⁸ annuit] annueret Dob 1108.

Lectio duodecima

[Dob. 1108-50]

Beata igitur Katerina¹⁰⁹ elevatis in cælum oculis oravit dicens: 'o decus et salus credentium, o spes et gloria virginum, Iesu bone, gratias tibi ago qui ¹¹⁰ intra collegium ancillarum tuarum connumerare dignatus es. Fac ergo hanc cum ancilla tua¹¹¹ misericordiam ut quicumque in laudem et gloriam tuam passionis meæ memoriam egerint, sive in exitu animæ suæ aut etiam in quacumque¹¹² angustia me invocaverint, celerem propitiationis tuæ obtineant effectum. Fugiat ab eis pestilentia et fames, morbus et clades, et universa aurarum intemperies. Fiat in finibus eorum terræ fecunda messio, aer salubrior et secundum elementorum gratiam iocunda fructuum ubertas. Ecce iam expleto certaminis mei agone, domine Iesu Christe, ferientis gladium expecto; tu quod carnifex tollere non potest, precor, suscipe spiritum meum et [fol. 279vb] per manus sanctorum angelorum in æternæ quietis sede cum sanctis virginibus¹¹³ confoveri iubeas.' Necdum orationem compleverat et ecce vox huiusmodi de sublimi nube emissa ad eam redditur: 'veni dilecta mea, speciosa mea, ecce tibi beatitudinis ianua aperitur, ecce quietis æternæ mansio tibi parata adventum tuum expectat iam in occursum tuum chorus ille virgineus sanctorum exultantibus animis cum triumphali adventat corona. Veni ergo et ne solliciteris de donis quæ postulas, nam et his qui passionem tuam devotis mentibus celebraverint et qui in periculis et necessitatibus te invocaverint præsidia optata et opem celerem de cælo promitto.' Facta ergo hac voce Christi virgo lacteam cervicem protendens spiculatori ait: 'ecce ego vocor a domino meo Iesu Christo, tu iam impiger age et redde expletum¹¹⁴ quod a tiranno ac-[fol. 280ra]-cepisti mandatum.' Mox ille insurgens decollavit eam. Quo facto¹¹⁵ duæ res digne memoria apparuerunt: una quia lac pro sanguine in testimonium virginalis innocentiae de corpore eius effusum terram uberius irroravit, altera quia mox angeli accesserunt et assumptum

¹⁰⁹ beata igitur Katerina] ipsa Dob 1108.

¹¹⁰ intra] me intra Dob 1110.

¹¹¹ tua] L, tua obsecro Dob 1112.

¹¹² quacumque] Dob 1114, qualicumque EO.

¹¹³ virginibus] Dob 1122, om. O (not recorded in Dobson).

¹¹⁴ redde expletum] Dob 1134, imple EO.

¹¹⁵ quo facto] quod facto W, quod ex facto Dob 1135.

corpus per altum¹¹⁶ aera subvehentes in monte Synai deposuerunt, qui mons a loco occisionis distat itinere viginti amplius¹¹⁷ dierum, quo in loco innumera ad laudem Domini fiunt miracula. Inter quæ et hoc unum insigne constat miraculum, quod de sepulchro ipsius rivus olei indeficienter manare videtur. Nam et de minutis ossibus quæ de sarcophago cum oleo effluunt ubicumque asportantur salutaris liquor¹¹⁸ stillare non desinit, ex quo peruncta debilium corpora celeris medicinæ opem reportant. Passa est ergo beata Katerina mense Novembrio vicesima quinta die, feria sexta, hora tertia, servans vi-[*fol. 281rb*]-delicet diem et horam qua Christus pro mundi redemptione ad passionem properavit, cui est¹¹⁹ honor et laus, gloria et potestas¹²⁰ per immortalia sæcula. Amen.

Explicit passio sanctæ Katerine virginis et martiris.

¹¹⁶ altum] Dob 1138, alta O (*not recorded in Dobson*).

¹¹⁷ viginti amplius] J, amplius viginti EO, viginti et eo amplius Dob 1140.

¹¹⁸ liquor] EJOS, olei liquor Dob 1145.

¹¹⁹ cui est] DEIO, cui Dob 1149.

¹²⁰ potestas] DEFIO, potestas est Dob 1149.

CHAPTER 5

Edition of the *Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ* (BHL 1661m)

This epitome is an example of how the relatively stable text of the *Vulgate* engendered epitomes which in turn were to have their own more or less solid diffusions, alongside epitomes which were to be a one off (such as Angers 121, and no doubt many others). This is interesting – it means that there was a need for such epitomes, but more importantly, that some of them did their job so well that they were passed from one monastery to the next. One reason for editing this particular epitome is to illustrate the variety and interplay of epitomes, well into the period during which the *Nova Legenda* started to appear.

The earliest witness to this epitome of Katherine's Passion is London BL Harley 12. The main body of this manuscript was written either at Durham or Winchester (see below) towards the end of the eleventh century, while the folios that contain the epitome have not yet been definitely localized. England has been suggested (Winchester?), as has been Normandy. There is a little more consensus as regards the date, namely the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, although the period of 1125-1150 seems more likely. It follows, therefore, that this epitome was probably created after 1052/1087 (the *terminus ante quem* for the *Vulgate*) and before 1125. Given that the *Vulgate* itself is a product of Northern France, the same area suggests itself for the production of the epitome. The provenance of Harley 12, whether Winchester or Normandy, would fit in with this. The other eleventh-century witnesses were copied at Trier (Trier StaB 1050/1261) and Rheinau (Zürich ZB Rh. 18). Witnesses from the twelfth century onwards come from much further afield: on the basis of their provenances one can see the text moving westwards and southwards into Italy (Staffarda, Cividale) and Austria (Klosterneuburg).

The division into readings indicated in some of the manuscripts, particularly such early witnesses as Harley 12 and Rh. 18 (signposted by *incipiunt lectiones de Sancta*

Katherina), implies that the epitome was created as a response to the growing importance of Katherine's cult and her inclusion in the liturgy. In Harley, each reading is followed by neumed responses, crowded into the margins and for the most part lost due to trimming. There are no such responses in Rh. 18; instead the text here is followed by a single neumed response (fol. 287v: *ex tumba sanctae Katherinae resudat oleum sacrum ..*), a hymn (fol. 288: *ave Katherina martyr et regina*), and a sequence (fol. 288: *regi regum decantet fidelis chorus*).

1. The behaviour of Bruxelles BR 4564-68

What initially looked like a straightforward editing task turned into something a little more complicated when one witness (Bruxelles BR 4564-68, [B]) revealed itself as containing passages not present in the other manuscripts. Moreover, it contains a large number of impossible readings, most of which are the result of the misinterpretation of abbreviations, and often due to the scribe of the witness. The aim, therefore, as regards B on its own, is to give the text of this version (of which we have just one manuscript), eliminating careless errors of B's exemplar. Of course, there can be cases where it is not so easy to distinguish between B's redactor and its scribe. I have tried to carry this out but there will no doubt be cases where my choice is questionable. More careful scrutiny than I have been able to undertake is needed to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of how B came into being. There are, however, a few observations that can usefully be made at this stage.

The most important questions as regards the text in B is to establish if it is an unfinished version or an intermediary stage of the epitome. This would explain the additional passages not present in any of the other manuscripts. This scenario is a possibility, even though the diffusion of the epitome, with a more or less stable text, would suggest otherwise. But as we have seen in the previous chapter, an independent epitome that did not engender its own tradition is not without precedent. The other option is that B is an amplification of the epitome: someone took the trouble to insert

back into the text passages which had previously been cut. In that case the question is, how did the redactor obtain the additional text?

The first explanation, namely that B is an intermediary stage in the process of epitomization, is attractive and more immediately obvious. At first sight it looks like B, and 1661m itself, were conceived on the basis of BHL 1663a (the only other *Vulgate*-epitome with its own significant diffusion). In many cases both epitomes cut exactly the same passages by jumping from one passage ahead to another. For example:¹

- Following Katherine's assertion that *dii enim non sunt plures* .. 7, both epitomes jump ahead to Dob. 145, thus leaving out the end of her speech.
- At 39 both epitomes jump from Dob. 562 to 570.
- Both epitomes leave out the description of Porphyrius: 'quia primae cohortis praefecturam agebat et magnis rerum possessionibus pollebat (64, Dob. 763-64).
- At the end of 96 (Dob. 988), 1661m jumps ahead to Dob. 998, in exactly the same way as 1663a. However, the assertion that *Christianorum aliquis subvertit* has been extended by *et a cultura deorum avertit* in 1661m.
- The detail of how God should look out for those who remember her (*fugiat ab eius pestilentia et fames, morbus et clades, et universa aurarum intemperies; fiat in finibus eorum terrae fecunda messio, aer salubrior, et, secundum elementorum gratiam, iocunda fructuum ubertas*, Dob. 1115-18), as Katherine requests in her final prayer, has been left out from both epitomes (sec. 116-17)
- Both epitomes cut out *stultum valde est te in hoc elaborare in quo laboris nullum poteris emolumentum acquirere* (Dob. 624) at section 41.

As is clear from this list of examples, both epitomes cut a number of identical passages. This cannot have been coincidental, but implies that there is a relationship between the two.

However, a more careful scrutiny of both epitomes reveals that 1661m retains passages that have been cut from 1663a. Consider the following:

¹ References in bold are to my section numbers of the edition, and to Dobson in the usual manner. He records the readings of 1663a in his second apparatus, where the consensus of the four manuscripts (P₁ P₂ H Z) he collated is designated by Σ.

1661m (sections 65-68)		1663a (Dob. 777-802)
<p>Audi, inquit, Porphyri!</p> <p>Illa superna patria pro qua fit mundi contemptus velut civitas est sole numquam indigens, <u>ubi nulla turbat adversitas, molestia nulla inquietat, sed perennis illic laetitia, iocunditas aeterna, felicitas regnat sempiterna. Si quaeris quid ibi sit ubi tanta et talis beatitudo consistit, aliter dici non potest nisi quicquid boni est ibi est et quicquid mali est nusquam est. Quod inquis bonum? Illud est, dico, quod oculus non vidit nec auros audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit quae preparavit deus diligentibus se.</u></p>		<p>Audi inquit, Porphyri, et animadvertite: Mundus iste velut <u>carcer est tenebrosus, in quo nullus ita nascitur ut non moriatur</u>; illa superna patria, pro qua fit mundi contemptus, velut civitas est, sole numquam indigens, <u>ubi nulla turbat adversitas, molestia nulla inquietat, sed perennis laetitia, felicitas regnat sempiterna.</u></p> <p>Parva sunt quae dico ad ea quae visu et rerum veritate experieris si fidelis usque in finem perseverareris’.</p>

Underlined = based on Ambrose Autpert

Bold = based on Ambrose Autpert *and* left out of 1663a

The presence of this passage (ultimately derived from Autpert’s *Conflictus* but used in this way in the *Vulgate*) in 1661m, and its absence from 1663a, implies that the latter was not at the basis of the epitome we are here concerned with. It is not very likely that the epitomizer of 1661m would have come across the *Conflictus* independently. Another sizeable chunk of text that has been cut from 1663a but stands in 1661m is at sections 43-44. Further, there are plenty of short phrases present in 1661m but absent from 1663a that support the conclusion that 1661m is not a shortening of 1663a.²

² The passages in question are: [1] *anno regni sui tricesimo quinto*; [26] *philosophicas dissertationes + syllogisticas disputationes*; [40] *faciam .. erigam*; [48] *illi puellaribus .. noluisse*; [49] *teneretur .. iniquam*; [51] *prae claritate*; [61] *mox .. ierit*; [64] *qui pollebat*; [78] *in vocem .. magam istam et*; [79] *tunc deum .. auxilium*; [63] *ne verearis .. mansura*; [67] *si quaeris .. diligentibus se*; [68] *pro Christi nomine sustinenda*; [76] *sed ut michi .. diligo*; [77] *tu ergo .. holocaustum*; [90] *has inter media ..*

The most likely explanation for this overlap between the two epitomes as well as their incongruous gaps, would be an intermediary version, not yet identified, which conserves the passages not in 1663a, and which, like 1663a and 1661m, omits the same passages.

What then of the possibility that the text in B is amplifying 1661m by adding passages from elsewhere? It is by scrutinizing the joints – the places where B departs from the text of the epitome and offers the deleted text – that the question can be answered. What we are looking for are cases where B can be shown to be following the epitome *and* its source-text both at the same time, which could result in grammatical or sense errors. Another behavior useful for clinching the matter would be the presence in B of certain readings unique to 1661m. A number of examples from the many on offer may suffice to illustrate the point:

A curious reading is *concremari* at the end of 33 – the epitomizer changed the original *poenalibus incendiis cruciari* to the more definitive *concremari*: most likely because he omitted the whole narrative of the philosophers' martyrdom in the Life, retaining only 37 *in quibus .. comparuit* as a sufficient indication. B includes the narrative, yet has the epitome's innovation *concremari*. This situation can only be the result of the redactor adding passages to the epitome from a fuller text.

A particularly interesting example is at section 77: here the epitomizer makes use of a phrase from a passage he has discarded. The phrase *ipse deus meus, amator meus, ipse pastor et sponsus unicus meus* (Dob. 851) is originally the firmly emphatic declaration of faith at the end of Katherine's assertion that she had not eaten any real food in prison. But since the description of this encounter and the exchange between the two main protagonists has been left out in the epitome, this declaration is now available for use, still within the same episode, but this time as an affirmation that Katherine is eager to

membratim; [95] *quae te .. coegit*; [104] *vesano .. indulges*; [107] *ecce porphyrius .. confitetur*; [107] *conversa .. onerare*.

suffer. B, which does offer the deleted passage (at sections 72-74), follows the epitome in ‘displacing’ the phrase.³

After a large overlap with the *Vulgate* (or an epitome) not present in 1661m, B returns to the text of the epitome (sections 78-84). To bridge the gap created by this omission (of Katherine’s flogging), the epitomizer of 1661m inserted a little explanatory phrase before the arrival of the wheel-builder Cursathes: *cum ad haec tyrannus vehementissimo furore succenderetur superveniens* (section 85). In the epitome this makes sense, and while it does not feel completely out of place in B, it nevertheless is an indication of the interpolator’s carelessness. In other words, he is happy to interpolate passages, and on occasion combine them with the epitome where the ‘original’ *Vulgate* gives him no reason to do so. And in so doing, he does not take the trouble to smooth over the, albeit small, incongruities he has created.⁴

Another example is at 98. Here B is the only witness to retain *tyrannus crudelis* – it seems unlikely that B could have arrived at exactly this constellation by pure conjecture (other possibilities: *Maxentius imperator*, or simply *tyrannus*). Much more plausible is the scenario that the redactor picked up the cruel tyrant from elsewhere. However, at the same time he follows the epitome’s toned down *ad locum supplicii trahi*, instead of the more gruesome *transfixas clavis ferreis mamillas ab imo pectore extorqueri* (Dob. 1005).

One last example, insignificant on its own but when set next to the others rather telling. At [112] the epitome reads:

quae cum ad locum passionis duceretur, multae ..

³ It has been completely cut out from the epitome 1663a, see Dob. 851. Another ‘displaced’ passage is at sections [27-28], as well as at section [109]. The latter differs from the other two instances in that here the epitomizer inserted a phrase from further ahead in the text.

⁴ Sections [80-82] contain a particularly decisive clue as to the ‘source’ text for B. In the epitome 1663a this passage (*factum est autem .. voces*, Dob. 894-905) has been moved from its original place in the *Vulgate* to describe Katherine’s final journey to the place of her passion (and thus fitting in much more neatly with similar crowds following Christ on the way to Golgotha at Luke 23:27-28: *sequebatur autem illum mluta turba populi et mulierum quae plangebant et lamentabant eum. Conversus autem ad illas Iesus dixit: ‘filiae Hierusalem nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas ipsas flete et super filios vestros’*). However, B is following the original sequence of the *Vulgate* by leaving the passage in its context.

B preserves the following:

quae cum ad locum *praefixum* passionis properaret, respiciens vidit .., multae ..

The corresponding passage in the *Vulgate* (Dob. 1094) has this:

quae cum ad locum passioni *praefixum* properaret, respiciens vidit ..

In the epitome, the genitive *passionis* is directly dependent on *locum*, there being nothing else it can depend on. In the *Vulgate* we have *passioni* instead, a dative which depends on *praefixum* (cut by the epitomizer of 1661m). B, however, has clumsily conflated the two.

As these examples make abundantly clear, B's redactor was using a *Vulgate*-related text to enlarge the epitome 1661m, as opposed to the situation that 1661m is a shortened version of the text in B. Thus, a long text like the *Vulgate* did not just shrink as time went on. B is an example that growth in the opposite direction was also possible. A similar sort of thing seems to have happened in the case of Paris n.a. lat. 2288, with the difference that it adds passages not found anywhere else. A complete collation of all those manuscripts that appear to preserve *Vulgate*-epitomes could very well bring to light more witnesses that behave in a comparable way.

2. The epitomizer of 1661m at work

What is attractive about epitomes is the insight they give into the way they were created, by virtue of the fact that one can compare them with the original (if it survives). The epitomizer had at his disposal several mechanisms for creating a shorter text from the one he had chosen to tackle. Here are a few examples of how the epitomizer of 1661m went about his work.

Simple cuts: the most obvious way to shorten a text perceived as too long is to cut dispensable material, and making only minimal changes to the end bits left hanging. Episodes that have been left out include the prologue, the historical introduction, last exchange with emperor.

Cutting and smoothing: this method can be seen at work already in the epitome's first sentence (section 1). The epitomizer has reduced the original three

sentences (Dob. 45-52) to one by cutting out the content of the edict. He keeps the first sentence up to to *iubens*, and then jumps ahead to *omnes .. incolas*. In line with the new context, he changed *nostri* (previously direct speech/content of the edict) to *sui*. The episode of announcing the sacrifice to the assembled people has been suppressed (*iubet omnes introduci .. Dob. 55*).

Pegging: in what could almost be termed a deliberate *saut-du-même-au-même* the epitomizer uses little recurring constellations of words in one sentence or passages as pegs, and cuts out the intervening text. An example of this process can be seen at section 63: after *emercatur* the epitomizer suppresses the first peg – *ne ergo verearis* – and moves straight to the second peg – *ne verearis inquam* (Dob. 757-62). The emphatic *inquam* perhaps indicates that the previous statement could be dispensed with. In the same way at section 85, the epitomizer ignored the first occurrence of *imperator non* and moved ahead to its repetition (Dob. 921-22). There are other examples.

Cut and paste: this method, also familiar to modern authors, namely moving a passage from its original location to another, is not without examples in this epitome, for instance at section 77 (already alluded to above). Another instance is the description of the emperor's anger at section 42: *hic tyrannus commotus furore*. This has been put together by using the original *hic tyrannus* (Dob. 648) and combining it with *commtus furore* (Dob. 841), which the epitomizer chose to cut at section 72 (but which B is happy to use again in the reinstated passage). Similarly, at section 108, the description of the emperor's anger – *ille insania et furore debriatus* – consists of the previously discarded *ira et furore inebriatus* (Dob. 648) in combination with *debriatus* (Dob. 1093).

Summarizing/simplifying: at least in one instance does the text in the epitome make better sense than in the *Vulgate*. The description of Christ as someone *qui est vera scientia et credentium beatitudo sempiterna* (Dob. 362) is rendered much clearer in the epitome by the addition of *in se* before *credentium* (section 26). The result is that what was previously understood is now explicitly stated, and reveals the epitomizer to be grammatically astute. The encounter between the queen and Porphyrius at sections 48-50 has been heavily cut: the justification for the queen's burning desire to see Katherine

has been left out apart from the beginning of the sentence: *pernotuerat vero reginae crudelissima viri sententia de beata Katerina* (Dob. 675). Instead of going into details, the epitomizer simply writes *unde* instead of *fit*, and makes the queen a more active protagonist by placing *cupiebat* at the end of the sentence instead of *fit*. Similarly, the epitomizer has dispensed with the unmediated appearance of Porphyrius (Dob. 686). Instead, he moves ahead to *evocans*, and thus again makes the queen more active. The original *Alexandrinorum redit ad urbem* becomes a more snappy *Alexandriam redierat* at section 72.

Just like the *Vulgate* was produced with care, so the epitomizer of 1661m paid attention to detail. He created a text that retained the essence of Katherine's Passion, without laying too much emphasis on the theological debate. Crucially, it was now short enough to be read in the liturgy.

3. The manuscripts of the *Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ* BHL 1661m

B

Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royale 4564-4568, fol. 34-45v, s. xiii, prov. Jesuits of Brugge.

A thirteenth-century collection of miscellaneous texts, including the *Computus Gerlandi* (fol. 2-22), and *mensurae medicinales* (fol. 28-34). Three fragments of a charter (dated to February 1229) by the abbess of the church of St Peter at Laon, at fol. 1v, 47, and 48v.⁵

Parchment, 48 folios, 15.8 x 11 cm, long lines and 2 cols, rules in lead, rubrics, several hands.

Bro

Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 379-83.

Readings from the printed legendary at Pavia, and a manuscript at Pavia:

- LP (collated from Bronzini)

Pavia, Biblioteca del Seminario, fol. G.4v-H.ij, 1523, prov. St Felix, Pavia.

This printed legendary contains twenty-three saints' lives.

Paper, 58 folios, quarto (height of printed page 18cm), 2 cols, gothic letters, from the workshop of Bernardinum de Garaldis.

Poncelet observed that the same Passion of Katherine also stood in a manuscript each at Torino and Vercelli. It is likely that Bronzini thus found the other two witnesses he included in his edition, although he cited no readings from the Torino manuscript.⁶

- V (collated from Bronzini)

Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. XII (58), fol. 284v-289v, s. xiv.

⁵ *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, 1: *Codices latini membranei*, part. 1, *Hagiographi Bollandiani* (AB 2-5), Bruxelles 1886, 463-64.

⁶ A. Poncelet, 'Le Légendier de Saint-Felix de Pavie imprimé en 1523', *AB* 23 (1904), 459-64. The Torino manuscript was destroyed in the fire that devastated the library in 1904, as its librarian Salvatore Amato confirmed to me in November 2005. Bronzini counted this manuscript among the witnesses for 1661m probably on the basis of Poncelet's observation in the description of the Pavia legendary. A description of Torino BN Ms. I.V.36, s. xii/xiii, prov. Staffarda, can be found in *AB* 28 (1909), 450-51. Poncelet had seen the manuscript in October 1902. Bronzini (b. 1925) cannot have seen this manuscript: the fact that he did not include any readings from it in his apparatus makes this clear, although he did not point this out.

A fourteenth-century collection of saints' lives, including a legend of the dedication of a church at Vercelli and that of St Gaudentius of Novara (BHL 3278-a). Fol. 2v contains a bull by Pope Boniface IX (d. 1404) from the seventh year of his reign (1395?).⁷

Parchment, 301 folios, 45 x 30 cm, 2 cols.

C

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 405, fol. 72v-79v, s. xivⁱⁿ, prov. St John of Jerusalem, Waterford.

A fourteenth-century collection of charters, liturgical texts and poems. The liturgical texts (fol. 17-93) are all divided into readings, each reading followed by responses. These lessons are the supplement to a Breviary, from the early fourteenth-century(?).⁸

Vellum, ii + 251 folios, 22 x 15 cm, 24 long lines, rules in crayon, rubrics, catchwords at bottom of folios for binding, proto-gothic hands.

As regards Katherine's Passion, James refers the reader to BHL 1658. The text has a lacuna from section 69-111, and a slightly different ending.

K (collated from facsimile)

Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek CCl 79, fol. 57b-58vb, 1260/80, prov. Klosterneuburg.

A thirteenth-century collection of liturgical texts, including Ado's Martyrology (fol. 2a-47a), Augustine's *regula secunda et tertia* (fol. 49vb-56b), excerpts from homilies, and a necrology (fol. 76v-107v).

Parchment, i+136 folios, 40.5/41 x 30/30.5cm, two columns, signs of heavy usage, textualis formata & textualis.⁹

⁷ See Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 31: Prato, Vercelli, Novara (Florence, 1925), p. 79.

⁸ See M.R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. 2 (Nos. 251-538) (Cambridge, 1912), p. 277-88.

⁹ See Alois Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts Klosterneuburg*, Teil I (Cod. 1-100) (Wien, 1983), p. 171-76.

H

London, British Library Harley 12, fol. 141-143v, c. 1125-1150, prov. England or Normandy(?).

The greater part of this manuscript contains John the Deacon's life of Gregory the Great (BHL 3641-42) (fol. 1-140v), written at the end of the eleventh century in Durham or Winchester. The life of Katherine is slightly later, written either in England or Normandy.¹⁰

Parchment, i + 144 folios, fol. 141: 32 long lines, first line empty; fol. 141va-143vb: 2 cols; 141vb – 33 lines, 142 – 36 lines, 143 – 34 lines, 29.9 x 19.5cm, just. 23.3 x 16.4cm, above top line, Carolingian miniscule.

R

London, British Library Royal 12.E.i, fol. 119v-121v, s. xivⁱⁿ, blgd John Theyer.

An early fourteenth-century collection of liturgical texts (saints' lives, prayers, etc.), bound with fifteenth-century material on arithmetic and other texts. There are also texts in English, such as a Latin-English list of synonyms of simple medicines (fol. 69-107v); fol. 193-195 contain sacred songs in English and French.¹¹

Vellum, 197 folios, 13.5 cm x 10 cm, rubrics, several hands, occasionally minuscule in size, mostly long lines, signs of heavy usage, 26 long lines for life of Katherine.

Theyer sale-catalogue no. 275.

¹⁰ See H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a list of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, 2001), no. 411.6 & 4119 (p. 74), who proposed England for fol. 141-143v. R. Gameson, *The manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford, 1999), no. 427 (p. 105), suggested England or Normandy. A date description is *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 1 (London, 1808), p. 2

¹¹ See. G.F. Warner & J.P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. ii (London, 1921), p. 48-50. "'Vita s. Katerine": life of S. Katharine of Alexandria, the *Latin* prose version (derived from the Greek life by one Athanasius) printed (with Johannes Kanneman's *Passio Christi*, &c.) in two 15th cent. editions, s. *l* & *a.*, where it is attributed to Rabanus Maurus, and from Cotton MS. Calig. A. VIII by Dr. Eickenel, *Early Engl. Text Soc.*, 1884. Another copy is in Harley MS. 12, f. 141. Begins (wanting the preface of the Cotton MS. and editions).'

Mk (collated from facsimile)

Melk Stiftsbibliothek 222, fol. 79b-82a, s. xiii^{1/2}, prov. Melk

A legendary (commemorating saints of October – December) in three parts: fol. 1-12 and fol. 13-86 both from the first half of the thirteenth century, fol. 87-98 from the end of the thirteenth century.

Parchment, 99 folios, 30.5 x 22 cm, 2 cols, 36 lines, rubrics.¹²

M

München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 21549, fol. 293-297, s. xiii/xiv, prov. Weihenstefan.

The catalogue describes the contents as ‘Jacobi de Voragine, Nova Legenda quam plures appellant passionale novum’.¹³

Parchment, quarto, s. xvi, 341 folios, 2 cols, 36 lines, rubrics, paragraph signs to indicate chapters throughout.

T

Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1050/1261, fol. 226v-232v, c. 1130-70, St Matthias/Trier.

The greater part of this work contains works by Thomas Aquinas. The lives of St Margaret (BHL 5303) and St Katherine are a later addition to the volume.¹⁴

Parchment, 232 folios, 15.5 x 10 cm, 19/20/23 long lines, several hands ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

The text of Katherine’s Passion has a lacuna from section 111 to the end.

Z (collated from facsimile)

Zürich, Zentrabibliothek Ms. Rh. 18, fol. 282 – 287v, s. xii^{2/2}, prov. Rheinau.

¹² See Christine Glassner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk*, vol. 1: *von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400* (Wien: 2000), p. 125-27.

¹³ See K. Halm & W. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 2.4 (München, 1881) p. 5.

¹⁴ ‘Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis’, *AB* 51 (1934), 179.

This twelfth-century lectionary covers the period from Pentecost until Advent. The main part (fol. 1-273v) was written by one scribe; the remaining folios are in different hands. The Passion of Katherine is followed (on fol. 288-288v) by a hymn ('Ave Katherine', [RH.1716]) and a sequence ('Regi regum decantet', [RH.17138]).¹⁵

Parchment, 304 folios, 33 x 23.8 cm, Katherine: 23 long lines, rubrics.

4. Editorial conventions and notes

Presentation

The presence in B of passages absent from all other witnesses required a presentation that would account for B's idiosyncrasies, without intruding unduly in the presentation of the text of 1661m as preserved in all other witnesses. B's additional passages have been demarcated from the rest of the text by italicization and a smaller font. In the majority of cases B preserves more text; whenever it preserves passages in parallel to the epitome this has been printed as two columns.

Ideally some typographical means, perhaps more use of double columns, might have made it more immediately clear whether B opts for the *Vulgate* or the epitome wording in the immediate neighbourhood of its additions from the *Vulgate*. For present purposes, cases where B opts for the *Vulgate* beyond its additions are just registered in the apparatus. Any fuller study of the B text must of course take them into account.

Division into sections, punctuation and capitalization

Rather than follow the division into liturgical lessons present in some manuscripts (see below), I have divided the text into sections, usually the length of a sentence, to allow easy cross-referencing with the apparatus. Punctuation and capitalization have been modernized.

¹⁵ L.C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. I: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich, 1952), p. 168.

Orthography

Only Harley 12 records records 'ae' as e caudata, all the manuscripts have 'e'. In the presentation of the text I have used 'æ', to facilitate the identification of forms. In most witnesses 'oe' is recorded as 'e'; in the text this is represented as 'œ'. I have indicated the phonetic use of 'u' before a consonant by printing 'v', but have not used 'j' to represent consonantal 'i'. Only two manuscripts, M & C, consistently use 'ci' instead of 'ti' before vowels (palacio). In the text I print 'ti'. All manuscripts have *ichi* and *nichil* throughout, which has been adhered to in the text.

Lectiones and responses

A number of manuscripts divide the text into readings or sections. They do this by three different means:

- a) paragraph signs: the text in M is divided into 29 sections
- b) by enlarged letter: R is divided into ten unequal sections.
- c) lectiones: Mk = roman numerals and enlarged letters = 9 (but not complete).

B = roman numerals = 7 (but not complete).

H = roman numerals = 12.

C = written-out numbers and enlarged letters = 9.

Z = roman numerals in margins and letters = 8.

Bro = 9 readings (no further indication).

- d) no division: K T

The readings do not generally coincide with each other, as might be suggested by the fact that a number of them have the same number of readings. I have not recorded in the apparatus the various divisions of the text indicated by the manuscripts.

The following manuscripts offer responses:

H – neumed responses in the margins, often incomplete due to trimming. From what is readable in H, it seems that the same responses (at least the first seven) are preserved in

C where they have been integrated into the text to follow each reading. However, the responses in C are much longer than those in H so that they only coincide at the beginning of the sentence.

Bro – it appears that there are responses only in V, because there are none present in the reproduction of P (following p. 180 in Bronzini). Bronzini did not take them into account in his edition of the two witnesses (see p. 379).

Apparatus

Given that there are manuscripts I have not seen I have included as much information as possible, so that – in the light of other material turning up – this can be easily integrated into the existing apparatus.

- whenever B offers text that is not present in the other manuscripts, I indicate this by a star (*) preceding the section number, as well as printing this in italics.
- whenever a reading from the epitome is also present in Dobson's edition, or in manuscripts recorded by him in his apparatus, I have included them in my apparatus, differentiating them by underlining Dobson's sigla.

Dob refers to Dobson's edition.

- I have not taken into account purely orthographic variants.
- In general, I have recorded inversions.

Stemma

For a text such as this epitome, particularly considering the presence of B, the stemma-model is not useful, since it is not a fixed text in the 'classical' sense. The undergrowth and interplay between the witnesses result in a kaleidoscope of manuscripts rather than a tree.¹⁶ The witnesses to 1661m do not fall into any obvious groups, nor does B systematically follow or share errors with any of them. However, a group of manuscripts used by Dobson keeps recurring in the apparatus: P₂ Q H Z. All four of

¹⁶ This can be seen in the case of the trial-edition of the prologue (see Appendix III).

them are witnesses to the epitome 1663a, and thus clearly in a yet to be determined relationship with 1661m.

Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ – Sigla of manuscripts

- B** Bruxelles BR 4564-4568, fol. 34-45v, s. xiii, blgd Jesuits of Bruges.
- Bro** Bronzini, 'La Leggenda', 379-83:
Torino BN Ms. I.V.36, fol. 1a-22, s. xii/xiii, prov. Staffarda, *destr.*
- V** Vercelli BC Ms. 12 (alias 68), fol. 284v-289v, s. xiv.
- LP** Pavia BS Printed Legendary, fol. G.4v-H.ij, 1523, prov. Pavia.
- C** Cambridge Corpus Christi College Ms. 405, fol. 72v-79v, s. xivⁱⁿ, prov. Waterford.
- K** Klosterneuburg StiB CCl 79, fol. 57b-58vb, 1260/80, prov. Klosterneuburg.
- H** London BL Harley 12, fol. 141-143v, c. 1125-1150, prov. England/Normandy(?).
- R** London BL Royal 12.E.i, fol. 119v-112v, s. xivⁱⁿ, blgd John Theyer.
- Mk** Melk StiB 222, fol. 79b-82a, s. xiii^{1/2}, prov. Melk.
- M** München BSB Clm 21549, fol. 293-297, s. xiii/xiv, prov. Weihestefan.
- T** Trier StaB 1050/1261, fol. 226vc. 1130-1170, prov. St. Matthias, Trier.
- Z** Zürich ZB Rh. 18, fol. 282-287v, c. 1150-1200 (& hymn), prov. Rheinau

*Manuscripts not used:*¹⁷

- Cividale MAN XII, fol. 177-179, s. xv, prov. Cividale.
- Cividale MAN XXI, fol. 197v-202, s. xii, prov. Cividale (G. Capellini scribe).
- Gorizia BS 9 (Passionario iii), fol. 239v-244, s. xiii, prov. Aquileia.
- Herzogenburg StiB 57, fol. 270-276, 1430, prov. Grein.
- Kassel GHB, 2^o Theol. 142, fol. 151-157v, 1367-89, prov. Fritzlar.
- Klosterneuburg StiB CCl 193, fol. 235a-236b, 1420, prov. Ybbs.
- Michaelbeuern StiB Man. cart. 67, fol. 251vb-253b, s. xv^{3/4}, prov. Michaelbeuern.

¹⁷ The copy of the Gorizia manuscript arrived with a delay of several months and thus too late to be included in the apparatus. From a trial collation it seems that Gorizia introduces a number of its own mistakes, and shares mistakes with a variety of manuscripts, while not forming a group with any particular manuscript. It has so far been impossible to procure a facsimile of the twelfth-century manuscript from Cividale. I intend to obtain reproductions of the other manuscripts in due course.

*Dobson's manuscripts*¹⁸

Dob Dobson's edition

- C London BL Cotton Caligula A. viii, fol. 169-91, s. xii, Ely
- D Bern BB 133, fol. 65v-84v, s. xi-xii, France? (J. Bongars)
- E Bern BB 137, fol. 158-178, s. xii, Ile-de-France?
- F Bruxelles BR 9120, fol. 92v-100, 1180, Lille (jes.)
- G Bruxelles BR 18018,¹⁹ fol. 25v-37, s. xi^{ex}, Lobbes
- Θ Bruxelles BR Bruxelles BR 8690-8702, fol. 13-41v, s. xii, Duyn (Amsterdam)
- H Heiligenkreuz StiB 14, fol. 13-17v, s. xii, Heiligenkreuz
- I Rouen 1399 (U.2), fol. 185m-n + 186-194, s. xii, Jumièges
- I Rouen 1394 (U.119), fol. 131-167, s. xii, Mortagne
- L Leipzig UB Rep. II fol. 64, fol. 60v-100, s. xii^{ex}
- Λ Paris BN lat. 5336, fol. 108v-119v, s. xii, English
- Λ₂ corrector of Paris lat. 5336
- M Paris BN lat. 1970, fol. 54-70v, s. xi, Fécamp
- N Paris BN lat. 5308, fol. 63v-72, s. xii, Lorrain (Metz)
- O Paris BN lat. 5343, fol. 135-137v, s. xi, Vendôme
- Ω Paris BN lat. 8995, fol. 118v-130, c. 1300, St Barbara, Köln
- P₁ Paris BN lat. 5278, fol. 410-416v, s. xiii, Mosel/Metz
- P₂ Paris BN lat. 14364, fol. 150-160, s. xiii, St Victor, Paris
- Q Paris BN lat. 14293, fol. 210-217v, s. xiii, St Victor, Marseille
- S Paris BN lat. 5365, fol. 163-171, s. xii, St Martial, Limoges
- Σ agreement of Ps P₂ H Z
- U Paris BN lat. 12259, fol. 267-286, s. xii, St Germain des Prés, Paris
- W Paris BN lat. 15149, fol. 46-65v, s. xiii-xiv, St Victor
- Y Paris BN lat. 17007, fol. 203-210v, s. xiii-xiv, Val-Notre-Dame
- Z Zwettl StiB 15, fol. 17v-21, s. xii^{ex}, Zwettl.

¹⁸ See *Seinte Katerine*, p. 132-43.

¹⁹ Erroneously cited by Dobson as 18108.

Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ

Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ

45-60 [1] Maxentius imperator anno regni sui tricesimo quinto residens in civitate Alexandrinorum, feralia per vicinas provincias misit edicta iubens omnes regni sui incolas divites et pauperes ad templum deorum suorum convenire et sollemne eis sacrificium offerre. [2] Fit itaque conventus universalis ad prætorium regis et astante ipso imperatore ante simulacra deorum iuxta possibilitatem suam divites quidem tauros et oves, pauperes vero volucres vivos offerebant.

71-73 [3] Hac in urbe Alexandria erat quædam puella annorum duo de viginti, speciosa valde sed quod pluris est religiosa fide, regis quondam nomine Costi
90-97 filia unica, liberalibus studiis ab annis puerilibus erudita, nomine Katerina. [4] Hæc itaque in palatio patris residebat cum ex templo idolorum hinc sonus animalium et tibicinum hinc multimodum genus organorum auribus ipsius insonuit. Quæ causam requirens cum ex nuntio didicisset, assumptis secum aliquibus de familia ad templum usque properavit, ubi deplorantes quosdam inspexit qui se Christianos esse fatebantur, sed metu mortis ad profana sacrificia impellebantur.

Passio Sanctæ Katerinæ] *sic K*, incipiunt lectiones de sancta Katherina *Z*, passio sancte Katerine virginis *Mk*, incipit vitam sancta Katerine virginis et martiris *C*, vita s. Katherine *R*, *om. H T B Bro M*

1 per vicinas] pernicias *C* || omnes] *om. B* || regni sui] sui regni *B* || et¹] ac *B* || templum] templa *M* || suorum] *om. Bro*

2 conventus universalis] u. c. *T* || prætorium] præceptum *C* || ipso] *om. B R* || imperatore] imperator *C* || deorum] *om. Z* || suam] *om. T Z* || quidem] quid *R*, vero quidem *C* || tauros et oves] o. et t. *B* || vero] *om. C* || volucres vivos] vivos v. *K M* || vivos] vivas *T N S*

3 hac] hic *R* || Alexandria] Alexandrina *M* || annorum] *om. T* || duo de] duodena *B* || viginti] viginti anni ætatis eius *T* || quod] quid *R* || religiosa] valde religiosa *B* || quondam] quondam egypti *add. in marg. (*only the 2nd) Mk, om. C* || nomine¹] *om. T* || ab annis puerilibus erudita] e. ab a. p. *K M*

4 itaque] *om. Z K Mk Bro*, itaque custos virginitatis suæ *B*, illa custos virginitatis suæ *Dob* || residebat] residens *underlined R* || ex templo] exemplo *Z H*, ex emplorum *C* || idolorum hinc sonus] ydolo \ \ insonu *Z* || multimodum] multimodorum *Mk p.c. L* || genus] *om. M* || ipsius] *om. Z*, suis *B U P₂ H Z*, eius *Mk D N* || insonuit] *tr. post* auribus *C* || requirens] inquirens *Mk Bro C* || didicisset] didicisset *D*, dedicisset *C*, audisset *Dob* || de familia] *om. B*, de familia sua *Bro* || usque] *om. B* || ubi] ibique *B* || deplorantes quosdam] q. d. *B R* || quosdam] aliquos *Mk* || inspexit] aspexit *C* || esse] *om. C* || sed] et *Z K M, om. Mk, ac Bro* || impellebantur] impellebant *M*

[1] The emperor Maxentius, residing in the city of the Alexandrians in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, sent deadly decrees throughout the neighbouring provinces, ordering all the inhabitants of his kingdom, rich and poor, to come together at the temple of his gods and offer them a regular sacrifice. [2] And so a general assembly took place at the palace of the king and with the emperor himself standing before the images of the gods, each according to their ability, the rich sacrificed bulls and sheep while the poor sacrificed live birds.

[3] In this city of Alexandria there was a certain eighteen-year old girl, very beautiful but, what is more, religious in her faith, the only daughter of a former king called Costus, educated in classical studies from a very young age, called Katherine. [4] And so this girl lived in the palace of her father when from the temple of the idols there resounded in her ears the sound of animals and flute players on one side, and various kinds of instruments on the other. Inquiring into the reason for this, when she had found out from a messenger what it was, she took with her some persons from her household and hurried all the way to the temple, where she saw certain people who were weeping bitterly and professing themselves to be Christians, but through fear of death were being forced to heathen sacrifices.

- 97-111 [5] Hinc vehementi dolore cordis sauciata, *tenens paululum intra se silentium, tacite quidem, sed*
ab alto, fudit orationem, dehinc pectus et linguam Christi muniens signaculo audenter ad
conspectum imperatoris prorupit. [6] Cui sic ait: 'salutationem tibi imperator
proferre nos et ordinis dignitas et rationis via promonebat, si hæc ista quæ cultibus
demonum exhibes creatori tuo impenderes, et solam illius maiestatem adorandam
intelligeres per quem reges regnant, per quem mundi elementa initium
132-34 sumpserunt atque subsistunt. [7] Dii enim non sunt plures sed unus nascentium et
viventium formator est deus qui sicut cuncta creavit, ita imperio suo cuncta coerces
atque disponit.'
- 145-46 [8] Cum hæc puella loquitur, imperator *iamdudum visum in virginem defixit*
204-07 vultus ipsius claritatem et verborum constantiam admirans ait: [9] 'si nostrorum
philosophorum gymnasiis, o virgo, erudienda persedisses, deorum nostrorum
numina divinitatis honore vacua nequaquam astrueres.

5 hinc] beata virgo R || cordis] *om.* Z || pectus] pectorem Bro || et] *om.* K Mk M ||
Christi] *om.* B || audenter] audacter Bro N E P₁ || imperatoris] regis C H Z
*5 tenens] *tenens itaque* Dob || tacite] tacito B || dehinc] hinc Dob
6 cui .. nos] iuro vos B || ait] sancta virgo ait C || imperator] *om.* Z K || et¹] quia Z, *om.*
C || ordinis dignitas] ordines dignitatis B, ordinis nostri dignitas C || via] viam B ||
promonebat] promonebat eadem T, promovebat B F S W, præmonebat Bro I L N Y ||
hæc] *om.* B || ista] eadem T, *om.* Bro D E I N O S Y E Q || exhibes] exhibens B || illius]
eius B Mk P₂ Q H Z || adorandam intelligeres] i. a. B || reges regnant] regnant reges K
|| quem¹] quam Bro || quem²] quam Bro || mundi elementa] e. m. Bro C N ||
sumpserunt] *ante* elementa Mk
7 dii] hii B || enim] *post* sunt B, *om.* R || non] *om.* B, *ante* dii R || sunt plures] p. s. Z E ||
et] atque B C || formator] creator Z || formator est] e. f. T || est deus] est Christus *post*
viventium B, d. e. M || est] *om.* R || deus] *om.* Bro || sicut] sic T Z || cuncta¹] omnia H
Dob || creavit .. cuncta²] *om.* Z || creavit] creavit ex nichilo B || ita] *om.* Mk || suo] *om.*
Mk || atque] et B K
8 cum] dum T H || loquitur] prosequitur B, loqueretur K Mk M R E Q || imperator] *om.*
T || ipsius] eius C || verborum] animi B
*8 visum in virginem defixit] visu in virginem defixo Dob
9 gymnasiis] gignasiis C, gynasiis R || divinitatis] diurnitatis B

[5] From this wounded by a violent pain of her heart, *keeping silence within herself for a little while, indeed quietly but from deep within she poured out a prayer, then* fortifying her heart and tongue with the sign of Christ she burst forth fearlessly into the sight of the emperor. [6] She spoke to him thus: 'Both the dignity of rank and the path of reason prompted me to offer a greeting to you emperor, if you were expending to your creator these things which you are displaying for the cults of devilish spirits, and if you understood that his sole majesty has to be worshipped, through whom kings reign, through whom the elements of the world have taken their beginning and continue to exist. [7] For there are not many gods but one god, the creator of things coming into existence and living, who just as he has created everything, so by his power he controls and arranges everything.'

[8] While the girl is speaking these words, the emperor *fixed his sight onto the virgin for a long while,* admiring the brightness of her face and the firmness of her words, he said: [9] 'o virgin, if you had sat through the schools of our philosophers for the purpose of learning you would not at all accuse the majesty of our gods of being empty of the honour of divinity.

207-28 [10] Dum ergo nos incepta sacra peragimus te interim nos opperire oportet, quia nobiscum itura es ad palatium et regiis honoranda muneribus si nostris acquiescis iussionibus.' [11] Hæc dicens, accito clanculum nuntio misit litteras regio anulo signatas per infra iacentes provincias ad omnes rhetores et grammaticos, ut ad prætorium Alexandrinum eo studiosius occurrant, quo imperator altis illos honoribus donandos promittit, tantum si hanc temerariam contionatricem suis assertionibus superatam reddiderint et hunc imperatori optatum reportaverint triumphum. [12] Quatinus blasphemias quas diis magnis irrogaverat, in suum caput refusas cognoscat, quia rationis ordo exigit ut primum arte oratoria, qua se iactanter extollit, revincatur, postmodum vero, si diis immolare detractet, pœnali cruciatu intereat.

[13] Paruit nuntius regiis mandatis et expletis imperator sacrilegis officiis, virginem iubet comprehendi et ad palatium duci. Quam blando sermone primum cœpit affari: [14] 'nomen,' inquit, 'tuum, puella, aut genus, et quos in studiis liberalibus magistros habuisti, penitus speciosa facta et decora protestareri, et loquendi peritia in laudem referatur magistrorum nisi in hoc uno oberrasses, quod diis omnipotentibus derogando et contumeliosa persistis.'

10 dum] cum B || nos¹] om. T Z K Mk M G || sacra] sacrificia R || te] et H P₁ || interim] interum B, iterum Bro || te interim] i. t. K || nos²] post opperiri K, nobiscum C || opperiri] opperire H Z, expectare te B, expectare Bro G Q, manere C || nobiscum itura] i. n. C || palatium] templum Mk || regiis] regis K C Z || acquiescis] acquieveris Bro || iussionibus] muneribus B, iudicibus C

11 accito] accercito Bro, accersito C || clanculum nuntio] clanculo B, clanculo nuntio F H || signatas] sigillatas Bro || ad¹] ut M || omnes rethores] r. o. Bro || et¹] om. M || ut] om. M || prætorium] prætorium regis C || occurant] accurant C || illos] post donandos T, eos B || honoribus] muneribus B || tantum] tamen K P₁ Q, om. Bro || si] ut K M || temerariam] om. K || reddiderint] reddierunt a.c. M, reddiderit Bro, reddiderunt C

*11 reportaverint] reportaverunt B

*12 irrogaverat] irrogaverit E S, inrogaverit I Q || cognoscat] agnoscat Dob || extollit] extollit H Z, attollit Dob || detractet] detractat a.c. P₁ P₂, de tractat H, detrectat Dob

*13 sermone primum] s. p. E p. s. Dob

*14 penitus .. protestareri] penitus ignoro sed speciosa facies et decora te alto sanguine ortam protestatur Dob || referatur] refunderetur Dob || derogando et] derogando Dob || persistis] persisteris B

[10] So while we bring to an end the commenced rites you ought to wait for us in the meantime, because you are about to go with us to the palace and you are to be honoured by royal gifts if you consent to our orders. [11] Saying these things, having summoned a messenger in secret, he sent letters signed by the royal signet-ring through the provinces under his rule to all rhetoricians and grammarians, that they should hasten to the palace of Alexandria the more eagerly, because the emperor was promising that they were to be given great honours, provided only that they caused this rash preacher-woman to be conquered by their affirmations *and earned the emperor this desired triumph.* [12] *So that she sees the blasphemies that she has laid on the great gods flow back onto her own head, because the order of reason demands that first she should be subdued by the art of oratory, with which she has raised herself arrogantly, but later, if she refuses to sacrifice to the gods, be killed by punishment of torture.*

[13] *The messenger obeyed the royal orders, and when the emperor had finished the sacrilegious ceremonies, he ordered the virgin to be arrested and led to the palace. At first he began to address her with a flattering speech, [14] saying: 'you would be claiming very fine and honourable things in citing your name, girl, or your family, and which teachers you had in the liberal arts, and your skill of speaking would reflect to the praise of your teachers if you had not erred in this one thing, inasmuch as you, insultingly, persist in diminishing the all-powerful gods.'*

229-36 [15] Respondens puella, dixit tyranno: 'si nomen quæris, Katerina dicor, Costi quondam regis filia. Liberalium non ignobiles doctores, quantum ad inanem mundi gloriam, habui, de quibus, quia nichil michi quod esset conducibile ad beatam vitam contulerunt, tota eorum memoria silescat. [16] Postquam enim michi sanctioris doctrinæ lux emicuit, mox tenebrosam erraticæ doctrinæ sectam deserui. Audiui enim beatam vocem evangelii domini mei Iesu Christi, cui me sponsam et ancillam fœdere stabili devovi.'

261-64 [17] Peragratis ergo provinciæ finibus regius nuntius properanter Alexandriam revertitur, ducens secum quinquaginta viros qui se in omni sapientia

292-302 mundi excellere ultra omnes mortales asserebant. Interea virgo sancta sub custodia servabatur contra quinquaginta rhetores sola pugnatura, cui consilium regis de conflictu imminenti nuntiatur. [18] Nichil tamen ex his famula Christi turbatur, ipsa sane imperterrita militiæ suæ agonem domino commendabat. [19] Dicens: 'sapientia et Dei virtus altissimi, Iesu bone, qui tuos milites, ne inter pressuras mundi formidare debuissent nec minis adversariorum turbarentur, eos consolatione pia præmunire dignatus es, dicens "Dum steteritis ante reges et præsides, nolite præcogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; ego enim dabo vobis os et sapientiam, cui non poterunt resistere et contradicere omnes aduersarii uestri."

*15 respondens] respondit B, respondet a.c. G, respondens Dob || liberalium] liberalium E O, liberalium artium Dob || tota] tota hæc Dob

*16 sectam] noctem Dob

17 ergo] om. B, igitur C R || provinciæ] provincias R || regius] regis K Mk || regius nuntius] n. r. C || Alexandriam] Alexandrinam K R, om. Mk Z || quinquaginta¹] quinquagintos B, quinquagintas C || in] om. Mk || omni] om. Z || mundi] mundana C P₂ Q || excellere] post mortales T || ultra] om. T Z B Bro M || virgo sancta] s. v. T C R, beata virgo Katerina B, virgo Bro || custodia] custodia bona M || cui .. nunciatur] cui nuntius venit {venit P₂ Q, supervenit Dob} de consilio regis et de conflictu in crastinum constituto B || de] et de C || imminenti] post conflictu C || nuntiatur] imperatrix nuntiavit K, nuntiatum est M

*17 contra .. pugnatura] sola contra quinquaginta pugnatura Dob || rhetores] rectores B

18 ipsa sane] sed B Dob, ipsa sancta K, ipsa sane et C, ipsa vero Mk R || agonem] aguonem B

*19 et Dei] Dei et B || adversariorum] adversantium Dob || eos consolatione pia] p. e. c. Dob || enim] om. B

[15] The girl answered and said to the tyrant: 'if you ask my name, I am called Katherine, the daughter of the late king Costus. I had very noble teachers of the liberal arts, as far as the vain glory of the world goes, about whom, because they did not provide for me what was useful for a happy life, my entire memory of them may become silent. [16] For when the light of the more holy teaching shone forth for me, then I deserted the dark teaching of false doctrine. For I have heard the blessed voice of the gospel of my lord Jesus Christ, to whom I have dedicated myself as wife and servant by a firm vow.

[17] So when the messenger had travelled through the territories of the province, he hastily turned back to Alexandria, leading with him fifty men who claimed that they excelled all mortals in the whole wisdom of the world. Meanwhile the holy virgin was being kept under guard, about to battle alone against fifty rhetoricians, and the decision of the king about the imminent dispute was announced to her. [18] Nothing of these news upset the servant of Christ, she herself quite undaunted was entrusting the test of her service to the lord. [19] She was saying: 'o wisdom and virtue of the highest god, kind Jesus, who – so that your soldiers would neither have to fear the burdens of the world nor be thrown into disorder by the threats of enemies – thought fit to fortify them with pious consolation, saying "when you are standing before kings and governors do not premeditate how or what you will say; for I will give you a voice and wisdom which all your enemies will not be able to withstand or contradict."

302-22 [20] *Adesto famulae tuae et da sermonem rectum et bene sonantem in os meum, ut hii qui ad derogandum nomini tuo convenerunt non praevaleant adversum me; sed verbi tui consternati virtute, hebetatis sensibus aut penitus obmutescant aut, conversi, nomini tuo dent honorem, qui solus es cum Patre et cum Sancto Spiritu et eris gloriosus in saecula, amen.*

[21] *Nec iam uerba compleverat et ecce angelus Domini apparuit ei, cuius claritate vultus locus quo virgo clausa tenebatur mira coruscatione fulgurabat, ex qua virgo stupore et admiratione pæne defecerat. Cui angelus domini apparuit dicens: [22] ‘ne paveas’, inquit, ‘sed constanter age grata deo puella, quia tecum est dominus pro cuius honore certamen inisti. Ipse affluentis verbi impetum fundet in os tuum, cui adversarii resistere non praevalerunt, sed per te insuper conversi ad Christum cum palma martyrii vitae ianua introibunt. [23] Tu autem brevi tempore cursum certaminis tui victoriosa morte consummabis, et sic, inter choros uirgineos suscepta, immortalis sponso perenniter adhærebis. Ego sum archangelus Michael testamenti Dei, missus hæc tibi evangelizare.’ [24] His dictis, continuo evasit ab ea. Ad hanc vocem virgo Dei in agonia roborata expectat quam mox invitetur ad laborem certaminis.*

*20 consternati virtute] v. c. Dob || honorem] honorem et gloriam Dob || es] post Spiritu Dob || cum²] om. Dob
21 cui] tunc B || domini .. dicens] om. B
*21 nec iam] necdum Dob || ei] ei E Q, illi Dob || claritate vultus] v. c. Dob || mira coruscatione] intra coruscationem B
22 grata deo puella] grata puella post inquit B, grata puella R || grata deo] d. g. Mk M C || honore] amore T || certamen inisti] certasti B || affluentis] confluentiae Bro || fundet] infundet post tuum T, infundet M G P₂ Q H Z || in os tuum] in ore tuo B Dob, instantiam Z || praevalerunt] poterunt B || per te] om. B M, post insuper R || vitae] in te C || ianua] ianuam K Dob
*23 inter] intra B A (p.c.) E I O P₁ P₂ Q Z || archangelus Michael] M. a. Dob || missus] missus a Deo Dob
24 his .. certaminis] hæc angelus dicens recessit C
*24 evasit] discessit Dob || quam] quod B, quoad H Z

[20] Be present to your servant and put a true and well-sounding speech into my mouth so that those who have come together to detract from your name may not prevail against me, but unsettled by the virtue of your word, with weakened sense may either become completely speechless or, converted, give honour to your name, you who alone are with the Father and with the Holy Spirit and will be glorious for ever, amen.'

[21] She had not yet finished her words and behold an angel of the Lord appeared to her, by the brightness of whose face the place where the virgin was being kept enclosed was shining with an extraordinary brightness from which the virgin almost fainted in wonder and admiration. To whom appeared an angel of the Lord, saying: [22] 'Don't be afraid', he said, 'but act steadfastly, girl dear to god, because the Lord, for whose honour you have entered the contest, is with you. He himself will pour into your mouth a stream of the abundant word which your adversaries will not be strong enough to resist, but even converted by you to Christ they will enter the gateway of life with the glory of martyrdom. [23] But in a short time you will achieve the course of your contest with a victorious death, and thus, taken up among the virgineal choirs, you will remain close to your immortal husband in perpetuity. I am the archangel Michael of the will of God, sent to proclaim these things to you.' [24] Having said these things, he went away from her without delay. At this voice the virgin of God, strengthened in her trial, waits to be called in soon for the task of the dispute.

323-31 [25] Sedente itaque pro tribunali imperatore, adsunt oratores pomposo eloquentiæ
fastu tumentes, astat et puella fidens in domino. [26] Facto autem diuturno
344-48 silentio, virgo Christi tandem conversa ad illos, 'ego', inquit, 'o seniores, Christi
355-56 sacramentis imbuta, philosophicas dissertationes et syllogisticas disputationes
362-64 penitus abrogans, iudico me inter vos nichil aliud scire nisi eum qui est vera
391-95 scientia et in se credentium gloria, dominum meum Iesum Christum, qui est rerum
omnium principium, fons et origo bonorum, per quem deus pater mundum cum
non esset et omnia quæ in eo sunt condidit, qui solus est ex quo omnia per quem
368-74 omnia in quo omnia visibilia et invisibilia constant. [27] Qui genus humanum per
diabolum a paradisi deliciis dolens exclusum, his novissimis diebus cum esset
invisibilis deus ex virgine carnem assumpsit per quam visibilis appareret, in qua
etiam mortem pati dignatus est, resurrexit atque in cælum ascendit; mirabilibus
quoque operum signis quia verus deus esset apparuit. [28] Hic est deus noster, hic
philosophia mea, hic victoria mea.'

25 itaque] igitur *T* || pro tribunali imperatore] i. p. t. *R* || adsunt] adsistunt *B* ||
pomposo] pomposæ *Z L* || et] *om. K G P₂ Q H Z* || fidens] confidens *K Bro*
26 facto] peracto *Z* || diuturno] *om. B R* || virgo] sponsa *B* || tandem] *om. B R* || inquit]
post illos *T* || Christi sacramentis] s. c. *B R* || imbuta] *post* Christi *C*, *post* seniores *R* ||
dissertationes] assertiones *Z*, dissertationes *B* || et¹] *om. B* || syllogisticas] sillegiticas *B*,
silgisticas *C* || iudico] indico *C*, s.l. *R* || inter vos] *post* scire *T* || nichil] vel *C* || vera]
summa et vera *M* || scientia] p.c. *K* || dominum] deum *C S* || Iesum Christum] *C. I. C*
|| qui] periti qui *T*, qui in præteritis *Dob* || est rerum] r. e. *C* || rerum omnium] o. r. *Z* ||
origo] horiguo *B* || pater] præter *C R* || cum non esset] *om. B*, cum non essent *R* || et⁴ ..
sunt] et ea quæ in eo sunt *post* mundum *R* || sunt] sunt non essent *B* || ex quo omnia]
ante per *K Mk* || per .. omnia²] *om. B M* || in quo omnia] *om. T Z K Mk Bro F L U*
27 dolens] *om. Mk M* || exclusum] expulsum *Mk* || dolens exclusum] e. d. *B* || cum] tum
R || deus¹] *om. T* || deus¹ .. appareret] in nostra natura aparuit visibilis *Z* || ex] de *K Mk*
M R Dob || assumpsit] sumpsit *C* || appareret] apparet *K* || qua] quam *H T Z R* ||
etiam] *om. K M* || atque] *om. K* || mirabilibus] mirabilis *K L* mirabilium *Bro* || verus
deus] d. v. *Z K R* || apparuit] aperuit *Mk Θ G Y Z*
28 deus] dominus *T P₁* || noster] meus *K M Σ Q* || hic²] hic est *T Dob*

[25] And so with the emperor sitting on the dais, the orators are present, bursting with the arrogance of eloquence, the girl also stands by, trusting in the Lord. [26] But after a long silence, the virgin of Christ finally turned round to them and said: 'O elders, I – instructed in the sacraments of Christ, completely renouncing the philosophical discourses and the sillogistical disputations – judge myself among you to know nothing except him who is the true knowledge and glory of those who believe in him, my lord Jesus Christ, who is the beginning of all things, the fountain and origin of all good, through whom God the father, indeed founded the world and everything that is in it when it was not, who alone is the one from whom everything, through whom everything, in whom everything, visible and invisible, exists. [27] Who, grieving that the human race had been shut out by the devil from the delights of paradise, in these most recent days - though he was an invisible God, took on flesh from a virgin through which to appear visible, in which he even deigned to suffer death, rose up again and ascended into heaven; by miraculous signs of deeds he manifested himself as the true god. [28] He is our god, he is my philosophy, he is my victory.'

503-14 [29] Dum hæc et alia multa virgo de fide Christiana disseret, stupefacti cuncti oratores *quid contradicerent nesciebant* atque manifesta dei virtute perturbati, invicem se contuentes obmutuerunt.

[30] Quibus indignatus imperator cum furore nimio sic ait: 'quid vos ignavi et degeneres *hebetatis sensibus* sic obmutescitis? *Siccine vos, debilitatis viribus, virtus feminea perdomabit? Non superque satis esse poterat ad ignominiam omnium philosophorum si quinquagenæ aut eo amplius feminæ verbis unum e vobis evicissent?* [31] Nunc autem, pro pudor! quinquaginta robustos oratores, ab extremis mundi partibus electos, una puella verborum suorum turbine eos usque attonitos reddidit, ut hii *quid vel contra nuntient prorsus non habent.*'

29 dum] *post multa* K Mk R, cum T Bro Z, cumque B C, om. Z M, , || hæc et alia] om. B || virgo] om. B D || Christiana] Christi sacratissima B || de fide Christiana] om. K Mk R || dissereret] disseret H Mk, asseret K, disceret C || atque] sed B || dei virtute] v. d. Mk || perturbati] confusi ac perturbati B || se] om. B
*29 contradicerent] *contra discerent* A, *contra his dicerent* J, *contra hæc dicerent* D, *contradicerent* E, *contrahiscerent* Dob
30 indignatus imperator] imp. i. K Y || degeneres] degeneres velud elingues B R || obmutescitis] obmutiscitis H
*30 siccine] *si certe* B || viribus] virtutibus B || perdomabit] perdomavit B D || non] num B || superque satis] sat. sup. Dob || unum e vobis] ex vobis unde B, unum ex vobis Q S || evicissent] evicisset B, evicisset a.c. & evicissent p.c. M, evicisset C Θ
*31 pro] o pro A2, pro N, o Dob || robustos] robustissimos Dob || verborum suorum turbine] t. v. s. Dob || eo] eos B || mutiant] nuntient B, unciant W

[29] While the virgin was declaring these and many other things about the Christian faith, all the orators were stunned with amazement *and did not know what to assert in opposition* and confused by the unmistakable virtue of God, gazing at each other in turn they fell silent.

[30] The emperor, offended by their behaviour, spoke thus with very great rage: ‘Why do you, cowards and weaklings, with your senses dulled, keep silence in this way?’ *Will a feminine ability weaken your strengths and subjugate you in this way? I suppose it is not possible that it would have been more than enough for the disgrace of all philosophers if fifty or many more women had utterly defeated one of you with words.* [31] *But as it is, o shame, one girl with the whirlwind of her words has left fifty strong orators, chosen from the uttermost regions of the world, so dumbfounded that they now have altogether nothing to deliver in reply.’*

514-16 [32] Hic unus

eorum maior natu *quem sibi magistrum et ducem præesse ceteri fatebantur*

529-37 tyranno respondit: 'hoc tibi imperator constanter fatemur, quia nisi aliam sectam probabiliorem ostenderis de diis quos hucusque coluimus, ecce omnes ad Christum convertimur, quia ipsum vere dominum et dei filium confitemur *per quem tanta mortalibus beneficia præstantur quæ per virginem istam audivimus.*' [33] Audiens hæc tyrannus *præcipitibus furiis agitatus* accenso in medio civitatis vehementissimo igne, iussit omnes ligatis pedibus et manibus concremari.

537-43 [34] Qui dum traherentur ad ignem, unus eorum ceteros hortabatur, dicens: 'o socii mei et commilitones, quid agimus? Deus longos miseratus errores ad hanc suam gratiam nos vocare dignatus est, ut vel in finem sacro privilegio fidei et sancti nominis confessione non fraudaremur, cur non properamus ante vitæ ipsius exitum signaculo et sacri fontis utero innovari?'

32 hic] tunc B Mk, tunc s.l. L hinc Bro R S E Q, huic C || maior natu] n. m. Mk || respondit] respondit P₂ Q H Z, ita respondit B Dob || tibi imperator] om. B, i. t. Mk A || imperator constanter] c. i. M || constanter] constanter igitur imperator B || probabiliorem] probabiliorem D, probabilioribus experimentis ventilatam B Dob || ostenderis] ostenderes H, ostenderis nobis post coluimus B, ostendas Bro || de diis] ante ostenderis Mk || hucusque] usque K E, usque huc Mk U Q, hactenus Bro || omnes] omnes quicquid (quodquod?) sumus M, omnes iam C || ad Christum convertimur] c. a. Chr. B Mk Dob || dominum] deum K || quia .. confitemur] om. C || vere] verum Z B K Mk R E M N W E Q

*32 fatebantur] fatiebantur B

33 hæc] hoc C || accenso] accenso protinus M || vehementissimo] copioso Bro E Q || vehementissimo igne] i. v. B, i.v. post accenso Mk || igne] igni R || pedibus et manibus] p. e. m. G, m. e. p. Z B K Mk Bro M R Dob

*34 mei] post commilitones Dob || Deus] postquam nostros Deus Dob || nos] nos A₂ P₂ H Z, vos B || est] om. B || finem] finem p.c. A₂, finem diei E I O S || sacro] sacræ Dob || fidei] post fine Dob || confessione] cognitione Dob || non¹] ne ut non B || ipsius exitum] e. i. Dob || sacri] sacro Dob

[32] Then one of them,

more senior by birth

whom the others acknowledged to be superior to them as master and leader,

answered the tyrant: 'Emperor, we declare this to you steadfastly, that – unless show us another more likely philosophy with regard to the gods which he have worshipped until now – behold we all are being converted to Christ, because we confess that he truly is the Lord and the son of God *through whom such great benefits are available for humans which we have heard from this virgin.*' [33] On hearing these things the tyrant *was agitated by a rushing rage* and lit a very violent fire in the middle of the city, and ordered all of them to be burnt up with their feet and hands bound.

[34] *While they were being dragged to the fire one of them encouraged the rest, saying: 'o my colleagues and comrades, what are we doing? God took pity on our prolonged sins and deigned to call us to this his grace so that at least at the end we would not be cheated of the sacred privilege of faith and the confession of the holy name, why don't we hurry to be renewed by his sign and the womb of the sacred fountain before the end of life itself?'*

543-57 [35] Cum hæc diceret, rogabant unanimiter pretiosam virginem Christi ut lavacro salutifero perfunderentur. Quibus electa Dei ait: 'ne paveatis, o fortissimi milites Christi, sed constantes estote et de baptismo ne solliciti sitis. Erit enim vobis salutare baptismum sanguinis vestri perfusio, quam ignis iste cruciatorius flammeum Spiritus Sancti ignem vobis inferet.' [36] His dictis, adsunt ministri, et ex iussu imperatoris, ligatis manibus et pedibus, sanctos Dei martyres mediis flammis ingerunt; et sic, inter æstuentes flammæ incendii Dominum confitentes, felici martyrio coronati ad Dominum migraverunt tertio decimo die mensis Novembris. [37] In quibus illud mirabile contigit: quod nec in capillis eorum aut in vestimentis ulla ignis læsio comparuit. Vultus autem illorum rosei coloris decore emicabant, ut dormientes potius quam extinctos putares, unde multi, conversi ad Deum, crediderunt.

559-62 [38] His ita gestis tyrannus

iubet sibi sanctam virginem
præsentari

<videns> beatam Katerinam immutabiliter fidei tenere
constantiam nec minis aut terroribus turbari, arte
quadam temptat animum illius emollire, ut ad profana
sacrilegua officia vel promissis infractam valeat
inclinare,

dixitque illi:

*35 diceret] dicerent B F L N || sed] sed Λ₂, om. Dob || ne solliciti] n. s. E G L O, s. n. Dob ||
enim] enim Λ₂, om. Dob || vestri] nostri B, om. H Z || quam] B P₂ H Z, et Dob || inferet] B
E I O E, flammeum Spiritus Sancti ignem vobis inferet] Dob

*36 æstuentes] æstuentes L, æstuantis Dob

37 illud] hoc Z, om. B || mirabile] insigne miraculum B Dob || quod] quo B, quia Mk ||
in³] om. T Z Bro R || comparuit] apparuit Bro

*37 decore] colore B

38 ita] itaque Z M C D F P₁ H || iubet sibi] post virginem Z || sibi] om. K Mk Bro ||
præsentari] post sibi C || dixitque illi] dixit itaque illi B Dob, cui sic ait Bro

*38 videns] om. B || tenere] tenere B || sacrificia] sacrilegua officia B || inclinaret] valeat
inclinare] Dob

[35] When he said these things, they unanimously asked the virgin precious to Christ that they be sprinkled with the redeeming water. God's chosen girl said to them: 'don't be afraid, o most brave soldiers of Christ, but be steadfast and don't worry about the baptism. For the shedding of your blood will be your redeeming baptism, which this torturing fire will bring about. [36] After she said these things, servants appear and on the order of the emperor, they thrust the holy martyrs of God into the middle of the flames with their hands and feet bound; and thus, trusting in God among the burning flames of the fire and crowned by a blessed/happy martyrdom they passed to God on the thirteenth day of the month of November. [37] In them this marvellous thing happened: in that not a single injury of the fire appeared either in their hair or in their clothing. But their faces were radiating with the blush of rose colour so that you might think they were sleeping rather than dead, from which cause many converted to God and had faith.

[38] After these things were done in this way, the tyrant
ordered the holy virgin to be presented
to him

seeing how blessed Katherine immutably retained the steadfastness of the faith and was not troubled either by threats or fears, tries to soften her attitude/mind by some trick, so that he might succeed in weakening the girl by promises and so influence her to profane sacrifices,

and he said to her:

562+570- [39] 'o virgo generosa, o digna imperiali purpura facies! Consule iuventuti tuæ et
572 sacrifica diis nostris et eris secunda post reginam in palatio meo, et ad nutum tuum
580-85 cuncta regni spectabunt negotia. [40] Faciam perinde tibi sceptriferæ imaginis
statuam in medio civitatis erigi a cunctis civibus salutandam, ab omnibus
adorandam. Postremo intra deas tibi templum de insigni marmore erigam.'
623-29 [41] Ad hæc virgo respondit: 'desine imperator talia suadere, quæ sit scelus etiam
cogitare. Christus me sibi sponsam adoptavit, ego me Christo sponsam
indissociabili fœdere coaptavi. Ille gloria mea, ille amor meus, ille dulcedo et
dilectio mea. Ab eius amore me non rerum blandimenta, non exquisita tormenta
841+648- ab eius confessione poterunt revocare.' [42] Hic tyrannus commotus furore iubet
650 eam expoliata[m] scorpionibus cedi, dehinc obscuro carceris ergastulo claudi ubi per
duodenos dies fame et siti eam imperat cruciari.

39 o²] o virgo *Z*, *om. Mk Bro* || imperiali] imberabili *C* || purpura] honore purpurea *K M*
|| facies] *om. Bro* || iuventuti] iuventute *H* || tuæ] tu *C* || eris] sis *B* || nutum] vultum
B || nutum tuum] t. n. *Mk* || cuncta] *om. B* || regni] regis *Z* || spectabunt negotia]
negotia spectabunt *R Dob*, negotia spectant *B*
40 faciam] faciam *D*, faciamque *B* || perinde] post tibi *C*, proinde post tibi *Z*, *om. B*,
proinde *Mk M*, quoque *R* || sceptriferæ] septiferæ *B*, *del. K*, sceptrigeræ *C* || a] et a *T* ||
ab] et ab *M L* || ab .. adorandam] *om. Mk* || postremo] preterea *T*, posttremum *B* ||
intra] inter *Bro*, infra *M* || deas] deos *B Bro L N* || tibi templum] t. tibi *H B Bro Dob*, tibi
t. *T Z K Mk M*, templum *C*, templum dei tibi (*dei underlined*) *R* || marmore] vero
marmore *M* || erigam] erigendum *M*
41 virgo] virgo beata Katherina *M* || talia] michi talia *M* || sit] sunt *T Z B Mk Bro M S E*
(*a.c.*) || scelus] sceleris *Z* || scelus etiam] e. s. *C R H Z* || me¹] etiam me *B* || sibi] post
adoptavit *K*, *om. B Bro* || sibi sponsam] sponsam s. *Z* || ego] et ego *Mk* || Christo
sponsam] s. c. *Z* || indissociabili] indissolubili *K Mk Bro M E N Q H Z* || ille¹] Christus *C*
|| amor] honor *K* || dulcedo] dulcedo mea *T Mk D* || et dilectio mea] *om. C* || me³] *om.*
B C || non¹] *om. Mk M* || non²] nec *C D P₂ Q H Z* || ab²] et ab *K* || confessione
poterunt] p. c. *M* || poterunt] umquam poterunt *B Dob* || revocare] remove *M*
42 hic] hinc *T Z Mk Bro R*, *om. B* || commotus furore] furore inebriatus *B Dob*, f. c. *K Mk*
M C R || iubet eam] a ministris beatam virginem iubet *B*, iubet beatam virginem
Caterinam *R* || expoliata[m] spoliata[m] *Bro* || cedi] graviter cedi *M* || dehinc] deinde *C*
|| obscuro] in obscuro *Bro* || claudi] includi *C* || ubi .. cruciari] *om. B* || eam imperat] i.
e. *Z*

[39] 'O noble virgin, o face worthy of the imperial purple! Consider your youth and sacrifice to our gods and you will be second after the queen in my palace, and all the affairs of the kingdom will look to your will. [40] In the same way I shall have erected for you the statue of a sceptre-bearing likeness in the middle of the city, to be greeted by all the citizens, to be worshipped by everybody. Finally I shall erect for you a temple made of distinguished marble among the goddesses.' [41] To these words the virgin replied: 'Stop suggesting such things, emperor, that it is a crime even to contemplate. Christ has adopted me as his wife, I have joined myself to Christ as his wife with an unbreakable agreement. He is my glory, he is my love, he is my sweetness and my delight. From his love it is not blandishments of material things that can call me back, neither can choice torments call me back from his faith.' [42] Then the tyrant, shaken by anger, orders her to be stripped and beaten with lashes, then to be shut into a dark cell of the prison where he commands her to be tortured with hunger and thirst over twelve days.

650-58 [43] Ubi dum duceretur constanter ait tyranno: 'ego plane in eius nomine libens flagellis cedi, ego carceris tenebrosi horrorem amplecti gaudeo, qui corpus suum pro me dedit ad flagella, qui mundum pugillo continens carceris angusti claustra non refugit. Tu michi tenebras ingeris; certum sit tibi quia per has lux perpetua michi paratur, tibi autem tenebræ æternales succedent.' [44] Tunc iussa tyrannica ministri explentes, ferreis virgis corpus tenerum lacerabant et dum verberabant alii deficiebant, alii succedebant. Manet interim virgo laudans in verberibus et Deo gratias agens.

666-73 [45] Clauditur virgo beatissima ex iussu regio in carcere tenebroso fame et siti bis senis diebus crucianda sub præfinito edicto, ne cæli lumen videat ne aliud quam tenebras horrentes inspiciat. [46] Sed nec in his Christus famulam suam deseruit; adsunt namque illi angeli de cælo confortantes eam et inæstimabili fulgore locum penitus irradiantes, adeo ut custodes qui a foris excubias observabant præ timore nimio in stuporem mentis converterentur; nullus tamen horum quid viderat tyranno nuntiare præsumpsit pro timore et feritate sua.

*43 dum] cum Dob || ait tyranno] t. a. Dob || carceris tenebrosi] t. c. Dob || carceris] vestris c. B || michi] tibi B || tenebras] tenebræ B
*44 verberabant] verberabant p.c. Λ, verberabant E I O S, verberando Dob
*45 virgo beatissima ex iussu regio] ex iussu virgo regio C, ex iussu regio virgo G, ex iussu regis virgo regia Dob
*46 nec] nec D E F G N U W Y Σ Q, ne Dob || namque] om. Dob || inæstimabili] inæstimabili D Q, inæstimabili claritatis Dob || a] om. B L U || observabant] o. alii B || nimio] om. Dob || stuporem] timorem B D H Z || viderat] videat B || tyranno] post horum Dob || nuntiare] om. B || feritate] timore et feritate B

[43] When she was being led there she resolutely said to the tyrant: 'I am entirely glad to be submitted to whips, I rejoice to embrace the horror of the shadowy jail in the name of the one who gave his body to the whips on my behalf, who – holding the world in his hand – did not flee the bars of his cramped prison. You are forcing shadows on me; you can be certain that through these shadows eternal light is being prepared for me, but for you eternal shadows will follow.' [44] Then the servants completed the tyrannical order and maimed the tender body of the virgin with iron rods, and while they were flogging some lost strength and others took their place. The virgin kept on praising and thanking God during the flogging.

[45] The most blessed virgin was shut in the gloomy jail on the royal order, to be tortured by hunger and thirst for twelve days under a fixed command so that she would not see the light of the sky nor look at anything else but the harrowing darkness. [46] But Christ did not desert his servant even in this situation; for angels from heaven are there for her, comforting her and completely illuminating the place with an incalculable brightness, so much that the guards who were stationed outside the doors were being turned to a bewilderment of the mind because of their fear; yet because of his brutality and their fear none of them took it on himself to announce what he had seen to the tyrant.

674-86 [47] Accidit autem ut ipse pro causis instantibus extrema regionis confinia
adiret. [48] Pernotuerat vero reginæ crudelissima viri sententia de beata Katerina,
*qualiter innocentem virginem per sapientes sæculi tractasset et quomodo illi, puellaribus verbis evicti et ad
fidem Christi conversi, gloriosa passione migrassent. De quo facto vir eius indignatus, dum virgo diis libamina
offerre noluisset, diris cæsam scorpionibus sub arta custodia carceris iussit recludi ubi per duodenos dies iuxta
crudelis regis sententiam puella innocens nullo cibi alimento frueretur. [49] Audiens regina feroce regis
coniugis edictum, licet gentili errore teneretur, tamen animi ingenita bonitate teneræ ætatis sortem miseratur
iniquam. Unde anxia videre faciem virginis et eam alloqui cupiebat sed ne id pernoscatur vir
eius vehementer formidat. Talia meditando regiam domum solitaria deambulabat.*

686-96	[50] Evocans itaque ad se quendam militiæ principem nomine Porphyrium postulat ut amotis aut placatis custodibus colloquio virginis potiretur.	<i>Fit illi optato eventu obviam militiæ princeps quidam nomine Porphyrius, vir strenuus et quantum ad temporalem sæculi dignitatem consilio prudens fide promptus, amici secretum intra claustra silentii constantissime servans. Hunc ad se evocans imperatrix Augusta aperit ei voluntatem suam, simulque postulat ut amotis aut placatis custodibus carceris visu et colloquio virginis potiretur.</i>
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*‘Nam ut,’ inquit, ‘tibi Porphyri, quæ me sollicitant aperiam, multa hac in nocte per visum passa sum quorum
ambigua revelatio me adeo suspensam reddit ut quocumque se horum exitus sive in adversum siue in
prosperum vertat, eorum sane effectum mature superventurum certissime cognoscam.*

47 ipse] ipse Maxentius imperator B || pro] om. Bro || extrema] extremæ Bro
48 vero] om. B || reginæ] om. C || Katerina] Katherine virgine M
*48 innocentem virginem] Dob, om. B || passione] passione de mundo Dob || migrassent]
migrassent E, emigrassent Dob || vir] ubi B || scorpionibus] corpionibus B || duodenos]
duodenes B || cibi] sibi B
49 unde] fit B Dob || videre faciem] f. v. B || virginis] eius H C || et eam] eamque Z ||
eam alloqui cupiebat] P₂ H Z, colloqui cum ea B
*49 regis] om. Dob || ingenita bonitate] ingenua nobilitate B, ingenuitate S || sortem] sorte B
|| pernoscatur] persentiat A₂ E L, percipiat P₁, persentiscat Dob
50 evocans] convocans Bro, advocans C || itaque] quippe T Z K Bro M, ergo Mk ||
quendam] quondam H T Z Bro M C
*50 militiæ princeps] p. m. Dob || aut placatis] et iracastis B || visu] iussu B || inquit tibi] t. i.
Dob || multa] multa L M C E F I N A O S E, multa michi Dob || vertat] vertar B || effectum]
eventum Dob || superventurum] superventum B

[47] But it happened that he himself went to the outermost borders of the region for pressing reasons. [48] But the very cruel sentence of her husband on blessed Katherine came to the knowledge of the queen, *how he had treated the innocent virgin at the hands of the pagan philosophers and how they were utterly defeated by the words of the girl and converted to the faith of Christ, and had died by a glorious martyrdom; for which reason her husband was angry, since the girl had refused to offer libations to the gods, he ordered that after she had been flogged with lashes she should be shut up under the tight confinement of the prison where for twelve days, according to the sentence of the cruel king, the innocent girl was to enjoy no provision of food.* [49] *When the queen heard the deadly command of her husband, although she was possessed by pagan error, nevertheless by inherent goodness of her mind she felt sorry for the unfair lot of the young girl, which is why she was anxious and wanted to see the face of the virgin and to console her, but she is terribly afraid her husband might find out about it. She was thinking such things while she was wandering around alone in the royal palace.* [50]

And so calling to herself a certain leader of the army called Porphyrius she demanded that – with the guards removed or placated – she might obtain a conversation with the virgin.

Into her path came, by a lucky chance, a certain leader of the army by name of Porphyrius, a vigorous man and as regards his station in the world, prudent in counsel, ready in loyalty, keeping most loyally the secret of a friend inside the walls of silence. The empress Augusta summoned him to her and explained to him her wish, and at the same time demanded that, with the guards of the prison either removed or placated, she should gain sight and interview of the virgin.

She said: 'For to reveal to you, Porphyrius, the matters that are troubling me, this night I have suffered many things in front of my eyes, things whose doubtful revelation has left me in such a state of suspense that – wherever their outcome may turn, whether to adversity or success – I shall find out most certainly the result of those things that is soon about to happen.'

697-723 [51] Videbam hanc sane de qua loquimur puellam intra sæpta domicilii sedentem inæstimabili claritate circumfultam et viros dealbatos circumsedentes quorum vultus inspicere præ claritate vix poteram. Illa autem me intuens iubet me propius accedere et de manu unius horum qui assistebant coronam auream accipiens capiti meo imponebat michi dicens hæc uerba: “ecce tibi, o imperatrix, corona de cælo mittitur a domino meo Iesu Christo.” [52] Qua ex visione suspensa nec somnum capere nec horæ unius momento quiescere possum, ita cor tremulum me ad videndam virginem exagitat. Per te ergo michi viam ad puellam eundi et videndi facultatem dari precor, o Porphyri.’ [53] Cui Porphyrius respondit: ‘unde et me ipsum ad hoc promptum invenies famulum licet imperatoris iram sciam pro certo me non posse vitare si rescierit. [54] Nam de puella de qua loqueris crudeliter ab imperatore actum constat, quia et ego interfui quando ab extremis sapientes convocatos disceptare adversus puellam constituit et promissis muneribus si victam redderent vehementer incitavit. Illi autem adversus eam stare nec una hora prævaluerunt, sed ilico conversi deum quem puella prædicabat publice fatebantur. Unde et indignatus imperator omnes ignibus tradi imperavit in quibus illud mirabile contigisse vidi et ego, quod in his omnibus nec in capillis aut in vestimentis ulla ignis læsio comparuit. [55] Qua ex re fateor, o regina, ex illo die sic verba illius quibus ipsa deos nostros exprobat – sic,’ inquit, ‘cor meum titillando sollicitant ut quicquid diis nostris exhibemus frivolum reputem et inane. Unde lex nostra nisi Christianorum sectam penitus abhorruisset, facile quis poterat me ad cultum Christi impellere.

*51 hanc sane] s. h. Dob || sæpta domicilii] secta domicilia B || inæstimabili] inæstimabile B ||
vix] haud Dob || me¹] om. Dob || manu] manus F || coronam] chororonam B || accipiens]
accipere B, accipiebat P₁ || michi dicens] post verba W, d. m. Dob || de] e Dob
*53 ipsum ad hoc] a. h. i. Dob || iram] non B || rescierit] rex rescierit B
*54 extremis] extremis finibus D I L N A Q Y, externis finibus Dob || victam] victum B ||
incitavit] incitaret B || una hora] u. h. I L, h. u. Dob || prævaluerunt] prævalerent B || deum]
deum E I Q S, deum hunc Dob || ulla] nulla B W
*55 qua ex re] quia ex re B, qua re C, quare D, qua ex re Dob || inquit] inquam Dob || nostris]
om. Dob || frivolum] totum frivolum Dob || inane] inanum B || lex nostra nisi] nisi l. n. Dob
|| poterat] poterit B || impellere] pelle B

[51] I truly saw this girl we are talking about sitting within the walls of her dwelling place, bathed in an unmeasureable brightness, and men dressed in white, whose faces I could hardly see due to the brightness were sitting around her. But looking at me she orders me to come closer and, receiving a golden crown from one of the men who were near her, was placing it on my head, saying these words to me: "behold, o empress, the crown is sent from heaven for you by my lord Jesus Christ." [52] Excited by this vision I am unable to go to sleep or rest for the space of a single hour, so much does my trembling heart urge me to see the virgin. Therefore I ask that you give me the way of going to the girl and the possibility of seeing her, o Porphyrius.' [53] Porphyrius answered her: 'whence you will find me also a ready servant in this matter, although I know that I certainly cannot avoid the anger of the emperor if he were to know of this. [54] For it is certain that the girl you talk about has been treated cruelly by the emperor, because I also was present when he set up the wise men, summoned from faraway frontiers, to dispute against the girl, and passionately encouraged them with promises of gifts if they subdued her. But they were not strong enough to withstand her even for an hour, but there and then they were converted and publicly accepted the god the girl was proclaiming. Whence indeed the angry emperor commanded all of them to be handed over to the flames, and I too saw that miracle happen to them, namely that no harm of the fire showed itself either in their hair or in their clothes. [55] Because of this matter, o queen, I proclaim – from that day when she reproached our gods with such words, thus' he said, 'they stir my heart with tickling in such a way that whatever we are displaying to our gods I consider frivolous and empty. Whence, if our law had not totally shunned the sect of the Christians, someone could easily have persuaded me to the worship of Christ.

723-46 [56] *Sed quoniam tu opportune ut puto consilium meum præveniendo communes, quid restat nisi ut custodes carceris mercede ad consilium nostrum inflectamus ut ipsi celare hoc ipsum studeant?* Nec mora: Porfirius ad consensum custodes emollivit.

[57] Igitur de prima vigilia noctis regina simul et Porphyrius procedunt ad carcerem et introeuntes viderunt carcerem inæstimabili claritate undique coruscare cuius ex fulgore perterriti corruerunt in terram. Mox inæstimabilis odor suavitatis naribus infusus ad spem meliorem confortavit. [58] ‘Surgite’, inquit virgo egregia, ‘et ne paveatis quia et vos Christus vocat ad palmam.’ Surgentes autem conspiciunt puellam sedentem, et angelos dei plagas et carnis scissuras aromatico unguine circumfoventes quibus caro et cutis superficies in admirabilem decorem convertebantur. [59] *Vident etiam et seniores circumsedentes quorum vultus candore emicabant. Horum ab uno qui astabat Christi uirgo coronam accepit velut aureo colore rutilantem, et reginæ capiti imposuit dixitque circumsedentibus senioribus, ‘hæc est illa, domini mei, de qua postulaveram regina et quam militiæ et coronæ nostræ a Deo consortem depoposceram. Sed et hunc qui assistit militem in nostræ sortis numerum ascribi uolumus.’* [60] *Ad hæc illi inquiunt: ‘pretiosa Christi margarita, super his preces tuas ille suscepit pro cuius amore flagella et carceris horrorem non timuisti. Sed æterno fœdere ab ipso tibi collatum esse constat ut pro quibuscumque ipsius maiestatem interpellaueris impetratum reportabis.*

*56 *quoniam tu*] *q. t. L. t. q. Dob* || *ut*³] *ut et Dob*

56 *mora*] *ipsa ora B* || *consensum*] *consensum eius C* || *emollivit*] *emollit B*

57 *de*] *in Bro C* || *prima vigilia*] *v. p. Bro* || *simul*] *om. B* || *viderunt*] *vident H, post undique B Mk* || *cuius*] *cui R* || *ex*] *om. B* || *ex fulgore*] *effulgore C* || *naribus*] *eorum naribus Bro N P₂, naribus eorum L P₁ H Z, naribus ipsius M* || *spem*] *speciem B* || *confortavit*] *confortavit eos B, eos confortavit S W*

58 *surgite*] *surge B* || *paveatis*] *paveas B* || *vocat ad palmam*] *a. p. v. K* || *autem*] *om. Bro* || *conspiciunt*] *contemplati sunt H B M* || *dei*] *om. K* || *plagas*] *plagas illius B, plagas eius F N* || *scissuras*] *illius scissuras B* || *unguine*] *unguento Z Bro P₁ P₂ H, uquine M, unguedine C* || *cutis*] *cutie C* || *superficies*] *superveniens B* || *convertebantur*] *vertebantur B R Dob, convertebat Mk*

*59 *candore*] *inedicibili lucis candore Dob* || *astabat*] *astabant B H Z* || *et*³] *om. Dob* || *coronæ nostræ*] *coronam vitæ B* || *depoposceram*] *depoposceram L, michi depoposceram Dob* || *numerum*] *militem et consortem B*

*60 *pretiosa*] *pretiosa E, o pretiosa Dob* || *sed*] *sed N O W Σ, sed et Dob* || *tibi collatum*] *c. b. Dob* || *reportabis*] *reportabit B*

[56] *But since you opportunely, as I think, forestall me in my own plan, what remains except to persuade the prison guards of our plan with bribes so that they try to hide the matter?* There was no delay: Porphyrius softened the guards to agreement.

[57] Therefore at the onset of the first watch the queen together with Porphyrius set out to the prison and on entering they saw that the cell was gleaming on all sides with an incalculably great brightness, and terrified of its brilliance they fell down onto the ground. Soon an incalculably precious scent of sweetness poured into their noses and confirmed a kinder prospect. [58] The admirable virgin said: 'Get up and don't be afraid because Christ calls you too to the victory.' They got up and saw the sitting girl and the angels of god who were soothing round the wounds and tears of her flesh with an aromatic ointment by which her flesh and the surface of her skin were being turned into an admirable beauty. [59] *They also saw sitting around elderly men whose faces were shining with radiance. From one of these who was standing near the virgin of Christ received a crown as though glowing with the colour of gold, and she placed it upon the queen's head and said to the elderly men who were sitting around: 'this is she, my lords, the queen I had demanded and had asked for from God as my consort to be my soldier and crown. But I also wish to add this soldier who is standing by to the squadron of my destiny.* [60] *In response to these words they said: 'precious pearl of Christ, as far as these people are concerned he has accepted your prayers, he for whose love you did not fear lashes and the horror of the prison. But it is clear that it has been conferred on you by an eternal bond through himself, that for whomsoever you appeal to his majesty, you will obtain and win it.*

747-52 [61] Hos interim qui visitationis gratia tibi assistunt scito inter primitias laborum tuorum iam ascriptos quos triumphali passione ante te cælica regna excipient coronatos. Mox militiæ agone peracto ille immortalis sponsus intra vitæ æternæ ianuam te suscipiet ubi modulis dulcisonis cælica organa resonabunt, ubi clarissima turba virginum inter lilia roseis floribus vernantia sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit.'

753-67 [62] Tunc beata virgo reginam advocans blande consolari cœpit dicens: 'iam regina forti animo esto quia post hoc triduum itura es ad dominum. Ne ergo momentanea pœnarum genera formides quia *non sunt condignæ passiones huius temporis ad interminabilis gloria talibus pro Christo penis emercatur.* [63] Ne verearis, inquam, regis temporalis et mortalis sponsi consortium aspernari pro rege æterno et immortalis sponso domino Iesu Christo, qui pro caducis honoribus donat æterna præmia, pro transitoriis largitur sine fine mansura.' [64] Ad hæc Porphyrius *qui primæ cohortis præfecturam agebat et magnis rerum possessionibus pollebat* cœpit rogando inquirere quænam illa essent præmia quæ suis Christus militibus pro damnis temporalibus recompensabit. [65] Cui virgo: 'audi', inquit, 'Porphyri!

*61 interim] interum B, iterum P₁ || tibi] iam Dob || ascriptos] abscriptos B || te] post ille Dob || ubi] ubi tibi A₂, ubi tibi Dob || dulcisonis] dulce sonoris Dob || resonabunt] resonant B || turba virginum] v. t. Dob || vernantia] verniatio B

62 tunc] his dictis B Dob || beata] om. M || reginam] regina B || advocans blande] adv. bl. eam Z, om. B, adv. ipsam blande M, b. a. R || consolari cœpit] cœp. cons. T B, cœp. alloqui H, cœp. eam alloqui C || hoc] om. B || hoc triduum] t. h. T || dominum] deum T M Dob, domini B || momentanea] momentaneorum B, momentanæ M || pœnarum] pœnorum H, tormentorum Z || pœnarum genera] g. p. B || interminabilis gloria] interminabilem gloriam quæ B Dob || pœnis] om. R

63 verearis] reveraris Bro M || inquam] inquit R || et¹] aut B Dob || regis temporalis et mortalis sponsi] temporalis sponsi Z, regis temporalis K Bro, regis temporalis sponsi M, t. r. et m. s. C || consortium] thorum H T || et²] om. Bro || domino] domino nostro Z Mk Bro M G, domino meo D || æterna præmia] p. æ. Bro G || præmia] patria B || transitoriis] transitoriis D (a.c.) E, transituris H R Dob, || largitur] largitu Bro, largiatur C
64 hæc] hæc verba beatissimæ virginis B E I O S, hæc verba beatæ virginis Dob || Porphyrius cœpit] c. P. M P₁ || cœpit] incœpit T || illa essent] e. i. T Z K Bro C D G E, essent B || Christus militibus] Christus Bro, m. C. K Mk M || recompensabit] recompensabitur Bro

*64 qui] qui B N W, quia Dob || et] cum B

[61] *Meanwhile these who attend to you with the favour of visitation, know that they are already reckoned among the first fruits of your effort, who - crowned by a triumphant passion – will be received by the heavenly kingdom before you. Soon when the struggle of the battle has been completed, that immortal husband will receive you inside the doorway of eternal life, where heavenly instruments will resound with sweet-sounding tunes, where among the lilies flowering with rose-coloured flowers the most dazzling crowd of virgins follow the lamb wherever it may go.'*

[62] Then the blessed virgin called forth the queen and gently began to comfort to her, saying: 'Now, queen, be of strong spirit because two days from now you will be going to the Lord. Therefore don't fear the transitory kinds of punishments because (*the sufferings of this time are not comparable to the*) an unending glory is procured by such punishments on behalf of Christ. [63] Don't be afraid, I say, to reject the companionship of the worldly king and the mortal husband on behalf of the eternal king and the immortal husband, the lord Jesus Christ, who gives eternal prizes instead of perishable honours, who lavishes things that will last without end instead of ones that are transitory. [64] At these words Porphyrius, *because he was holding the command of the first cohort and was rich in great possessions of things*, began to inquire by asking what those prizes might be that Christ will measure out to his soldiers for temporal injuries. [65] The virgin said to him: 'Listen, Porphyrius!

- 784-92 [66] Illa superna patria pro qua fit mundi contemptus velut civitas est sole
numquam indigens, ubi nulla turbat adversitas, molestia nulla inquietat; sed
perennis illic lætitia, iocunditas æterna, felicitas regnat sempiterna. [67] Si quæris
quid ibi sit ubi tanta et talis beatitudo consistit, aliter dici non potest nisi quicquid
boni est ibi est et quicquid mali est nusquam est. Quod inquis bonum? Illud est
801-04 preparavit deus diligentibus se.' [68] His et aliis beatæ virginis sermonibus
exhilarati et supernorum civium præsentī visione lætificati regina simul et
Porphyrius procedunt de carcere media nocte parati ad omnia quæ tortor insanus
818-20 iubebat pro Christi nomine sustinenda. [69] Sed et ducenti milites Porphyrio
obsequentes eius suasu et monitis idola respuentes ad Christum conversi sunt.

66 fit] sit B || est] om. K || sole numquam] n. s. Z B Bro || turbat] turbatio Z ||
adversitas] nulla adversitas Z || molestia .. inquietat] nulla angustia necessitas angustiat B
|| nulla?] numquam K || molestia nulla] n. m. T Mk || sed .. sempiterna] om. T Z K Mk
Bro M || illic] om. B R Deb

67 sit] est R || tanta et talis] talis et tana C || did] dict C || quicquid .. quod?] om. B ||
boni .. quicquid?] om. M || boni] bonum Mk || boni est] e. b. K || est?] es Bro || est?] et
C || nusquam] non ibi usquam T, ibi non (nusquam above non) L, ibi nusquam Z Bro Q,
nusquam ibi § || quod?] quid LP R || inquis] inquit post bonum B || bonum] bonum est
V, bonum et C || est dico] inquam bonum T, dico est Z B || oculus non] nec oculus B ||
nec?] et H C || audivit] non audivit H C || cor] cordis? C || ascendit] non ascendit C ||
quæ] quod T

68 beatæ virginis sermonibus] s. b. v. T || virginis] virginis Katherine M || sermonibus]
om. Z || civium præsentī] civium B, om. C || civium] civium et Z || regina simul et
Porphyrius] simul T || procedunt] recedunt Bro || de] a Bro || sustinenda] sustinenda(?)
et B

*68 insanus] insanis B, insanissimus E || iubebat] poterit inferre] iubebat Deb

69 set et .. sunt] om. C || sed et] præterea T, sunt Bro || ducenti] ducentes B || milites]
homines milites Bro || Porphyrio] Porphyrius B || obsequentes] post Porphyrio Z,
obsecrantes B || suasu] suasionē Bro || monitis] monitu T, moni Z || respuentes]
renuentes B || conversi] reversi B

[66] That celestial land for the sake of which there is contempt for the world is like a city never lacking in sunshine, where no adversity makes trouble, no distress disturbs, but in that place reign constant happiness, eternal joy and perpetual good fortune. [67] If you ask what there is where so much and so great blessedness exists, it cannot be explained otherwise than by saying that whatever is good, is there, and whatever is bad, is nowhere. What good?, you say. I say, it is that which the eye has not seen and the ear has not heard, and that which god has prepared for those who love him does not rise in the heart of man.' [68] Cheered up by these and other words of the virgin, and gladdened by the present vision of the heavenly citizens, the queen in the company of Porphyrius set out from the prison in the middle of the night, ready to suffer in the name of Christ everything *that the insane torturer ordered*. [69] And what is more, two hundred soldiers, under Porphyrius' command by his advice and counsels rejected the idols and converted to Christ.

821-32

[70] Servabatur interea in carcere *iuxta edictum imperatoris* innocens puella et quia bisseis diebus sine alimento eam esse tyrannus iusserat Christus per hos dies missa de cælo candida columba cælesti eam cibo refovebat. [71] Expletis vero diebus apparuit ei dominus cum multitudine angelorum quem sequebatur innumera turba virginum. Cui dominus: 'agnosce', inquit, 'filia, agnosce auctorem tuum pro cuius nomine laboriosi certaminis cœpisti conflictum. Constans esto et ne paveas quia tecum sum nec te desero est etenim non parva turba hominum per te nomini meo creditura.' Hæc dicens in cælum sese recepit quem virgo euntem longo intuitu sequebatur.

832-42

[72] At imperator expletis causis pro quibus ierat Alexandriam rediit. Postera die educitur de carcere virgo speciosa tribunali eius præsentanda. Quæ cum in eius staret præsentia vultumque illius quem tanto dierum spatio attenuatum ieiunio æstimaret, multo formosiores et splendidiores esse videret arbitratur clandestino officio ei subministrata alimenta. Unde furore commotus carcerarios iubet excruciarî nisi fateantur a quo et per quem virgo in carcere cibis fuisset sustentata.

70 servabatur .. refovebat] *om.* C || interea] interim T, post carcere Bro || in carcere] post puella T, *om.* R || innocens puella] innocens virgo B, Christi virgo *Dob* || bis senis diebus] *om.* T || alimento] alimentis Bro || sine alimento eam esse tyrannus] eam sine a. t. e. H || per hos dies] *om.* H *Σ Q* per hos K || missa de cælo] d. c. m. TB || cælo] loco K || candida columba] col. can. TR *P₂ Q* || Z || cælesti] *om.* K Mk || eam] post Christus H || cælesti eam cibo] e. cl. cæ. M || refovebat] reficiebat B, refovebat quotidie Bro

71 expletis .. recepit] post vero dies duodecim dum sollicita esset sancta virgo de regis presentia et metu penarum et deum suppliciter exoraret, ecce astitit dominus Christus in ea forma qua ab hominibus videri solet cum cetu angelico dicens ei: ne timeas neque paveas famula mea, ecce enim sum creator omnium Christus pro cuius amore talia sustines. Beata namque eris inter omnes mulieres et gaudia celorum recipient te. Hec cum audisset virgo domini gaudio magno exultans, cepit glorificare et collaudere deum et in femineo corpore virilem inserens vigorem parata erat pro Christi amore omnia sustinere C || dominus] dominus Iesu H || quem] quam B || inquit filia] f. l. Bro || agnosce] agnosce inquit B || cuius] quo Z || nomine laboriosi certaminis] laboriosum Z K Mk, nomine laboriosum *Σ Q* || cœpisti conflictum] suscepisti conflictum T, conflictum Bro, cursum cœpisti *Dob P₁ P₂ Q* certamen cœpisti H Z || tecum sum] ego sum H B R, ego tecum sum *Dob* || desero] deseram T || cælum] cælo B || sese] se Z M R *G* ||

*71 etenim non] nec B || nomini] nomino B || euntem longo] e. l. *G* *Y* l. e. *Dob*

72 at imperator .. 111 inferre potueris] *om.* C

72 at] *om.* Z || expletis] impletis B || rediit] redierat H T B K M C R, reversus est Mk || postera] postea B, postera vero M || de] e Z || de carcere] post speciosa Mk || virgo speciosa] gloriosa virgo B || eius] regio B *Dob om.* M

*72 carcerarios] carceratos B || in carcere cibis] cibis i. c. *Dob*

[70] In the meantime the innocent girl was being kept in the prison *according to the command of the emperor*, and because the tyrant had ordered her to be without food for twelve days, Christ restored her with heavenly food through a white dove from heaven during those days. [71] But when the days were over the Lord appeared to her with a multitude of angels and an innumerable crowd of virgins was following him. The Lord said to her: ‘recognize, daughter, recognize your maker in whose name you have begun the battle of a toilsome fight. Be unwavering *and don’t be afraid*, because I am with you and do not forsake you *and indeed no small crowd of men is going to believe in my name because of you.*’ He said these things and withdrew himself into heaven *and the virgin followed him with a long gaze as he was going.*

[72] But the emperor returned to Alexandria when he had completed the matters for which he had gone. On the next day the beautiful virgin is led out of prison to be presented to his judgment. *When she came to a halt in his presence and he saw her face, which he had reckoned after such a big period of days would have been emaciated with the lack of food, to be a lot more beautiful and splendid he thought that she had been supplied with provisions by a secret favour. Whence agitated by anger he orders the prison-guards to be tortured if they do not confess from whom and through whom the virgin had been sustained with food in prison.*

843-44 [73] Tunc Christi virgo ne custodes sui causa innocentes cruciarentur. [74] 'ego plane cibum ab homine
848-51 corporalem nullum accepi, sed qui suos milites in tribulatione deserere nescit, ipse me, ancillam suam, per
859-66 angelum suum caelesti alimento nutrire dignatus est.' [75] Ad quam tyrannus: 'licet', ait, 'te
servare quam perdere maluissem, necesse est tamen praesenti deliberatione quod
vis unum e duobus eligere – aut sacrificare ut vivas aut exquisitis tormentis
dilacerari ut pereas.' [76] Cui Katerina respondit: 'vivere sane opto sed ut michi
vivere Christus sit, mori autem pro eo non timeo sed potius diligo, quia moriendo
873-78 pro eo interminabilis vitae emolumentum lucrari me confido. [77] Tu ergo
quaecumque tormentorum machinamenta potes excogitare ne differas, quia vocor a
domino meo Iesu Christo cui carnem et sanguinem meum in sacrificium offerre
881-82 desidero, quia et ipse semetipsum pro me obtulit Deo patri in holocaustum. Ipse
deus meus amator meus, ipse pastor et sponsus unicus meus.'

*73 tunc] at Dob || ne] nec B, non E || causa] causam B || innocentes] innocenter Dob.

*74 in] in fame et Dob || suum] om. Dob || caelesti alimento] caelesti ibi alimento V (p.c.),
caelestis cibi alimento Dob

75 licet] licet autem Z || ait te servare] t. a. s. T Z, ait servare te B, ait te reservare R ||
maluissem] maluerim T || tamen] post maluerim T, tunc Bro, post necesse M, om. R ||
unum e duobus] om. Mk || e] de B M, est LP || eligere] elige T, elige p.c. K || aut] aut
diis B Dob || tormentis dilacerari] d. t. Bro || dilacerari] corpus tenerum dilacerari B Dob
76 Katerina] beata Katerina B Δ beata virgo Σ Q || respondit] ait T || ut] om. Bro ||
michi vivere] v. m. Bro E V || vivere Christus] vivam Christo B || mori] moriendo M ||
autem] om. Mk N S || mori autem pro eo] p. e. a. m. M || non .. pro eo] om. Bro || timeo]
dubito Mk || quia .. confido] om. T || moriendo pro eo] p. e. m. Z || lucrari me] m. l. Bro
77 tu .. holocaustum] om. T || ergo] ergo tyranne B Dob || tormentorum] tormentor Mk
|| tormentorum machinamenta] m. t. B || carnem] carnem meam M || meum] nostrum B
|| et] om. B || semetipsum pro me] p. m. s. B || obtulit Deo patri] d. p. o. Z B K Mk Bro
M || ipse² .. meus] om. II R || amator] adiutor II T Z C R || pastor] pastor meus K Mk M
E || meus] om. Z

[73] *Then the virgin of Christ, so that the innocent guards would not be tortured because of her, said:* [74] *'I have clearly not received corporeal food from any man, but he who does not know how to desert his soldiers in tribulation, he saw fit to nourish me, his maid-servant, through his angel with heavenly nourishment.* [75] The tyrant said to her: *'although I would have preferred to keep you rather than lose you, yet it is necessary at the present consideration that you choose what you want from one of two – either to sacrifice so that you live or to be torn apart by choice torments so that you perish.'* [76] Katherine answered him: *'Truly I choose to live, because to live for me is Christ, yet I do not fear to die for him but rather I prefer it, because in dying for him I am confident to gain the reward of everlasting life.* [77] You therefore – do not delay whatever devices of torments you can think of, because I am called by my Lord Jesus Christ to whom I wish to offer my flesh and blood in sacrifice, because he also gave himself up to God the father in an offering. He is my god, my lover, he is my shepherd and my only husband.¹

¹ See Psalm (sept.) 17.3: *'deus meus adiutor meus'*; and 61.7: *'quia ipse Deus meus et salvator meus adiutor meus'*.

886-915 [78] Ad hæc tyrannus ut leo violentus dentibus frendens in vocem huiusmodi erupit: 'quid ignavi talia sustinemus? Usque adeo deos nostros tam contemptibiliter ab ista malefica incantatrice derogari patiemur? Cur non totum corpus eius discerpi non faciemus, ne et ceteri Christiani adversus deos nostros simili insultatione barbarizare præsumant? [79] Ergo omnes agite, quibuscumque decorum iniuria illata est! Apprehendite magam istam et diris suppliciis cruciatam morte crudelissima facile eam interire! Tunc deum suum de cuius se iactat præsidio, si fas est, provocet sibi ad auxilium.'

[80] Factum est autem cum traheretur ad supplicium, quidam miserantes formæ virginæ decorem indigna morte perire, suadebant virgini ut imperatori potius obædire deberet quam resistendo florem amitteret suæ iuventutis; cui sic inquiunt: [81] 'o forma virginæ decoris, o solaris species, quænam tanta mentis obstinatio ista est ut generosi sanguinis puella cui divitiæ et honores gratis offeruntur ultro mortem eligat? O virgo digna imperio, consule florentissimæ iuventuti tuæ et ne sinas pulchritudinis tuæ vernantem speciem immatura morte perire!' [82] Quibus venerabilis virgo respondit: 'deponite, o uiri, planctus inania lamenta nec de pulchritudinis meæ dispendio querulosas expendite voces, quia caro mea quæ vobis velut florere videtur, velut fenum est et gloria eius tamquam flos feni, dum mox abeunte spiritu, marcescit et consumpta a vermibus reditura est in pulverem unde primordiale sumpsit originem. [83] De meo igitur interitu nolite flere neque solliciti esse, quia michi talis cruciatus non est interitus ad consummationem sed transitus ad vitam. Super vos potius tales expendite gemitus, quia vobis non transitus manet ad spem reparationis sed interitus ad æternam æternæ perditionis.' [84] His verbis beatæ virginis quidam eorum compuncti subtraxerunt se ab idolorum cultura et imperatoris communione, non tamen id palam esse volebant.

*78 ab] om. B || cur non] cur non E I Q S quin cur non Δz quin Dob || eius] eius Δ om. Dob || discerpi] membratim discerpi Dob || non faciemus] faciamus Dob facimus E Q || nostros] om. Dob

*79 omnes agite] a. o. Dob || illata] curæ Dob || cruciatam] cruciatam || Z excruciatam Dob || facite eam] e. f. Dob || deum suum] deus suus B || fas] fax B || provocet] providet B

*80 formæ virginæ] v. f. Dob || florem] sic E E I L Δ Q S N florentem Dob || suæ] om. Dob || iuventutis] iuventutem E E I L Δ Q S N iuventam Dob || cui sic inquiunt] o inquiunt Dob

*81 o] om. B || specis] spes B || splendoris] decoris Y E candoris Dob || est] ista est Dob || puella cui] c. p. B || ultro mortem] voluntarium mortis compendium Dob || sinas] negligas Dob

*82 planctus] planctus || Z planctus huius Dob || nec] ne B || expendite] deperдите Dob || velut] om. Dob || a] consumpta Dob || reditura] reducta B || primordiale] primordialis essentie Dob

*83 interitus] om. B || spem] speciem B

[78] *At these words the tyrant gnashed his teeth like a savage lion and broke into voice saying: 'Why do we sluggishly suffer such things? Shall we allow our gods to be reviled in such a contemptible way by this wicked witch to such a point? Why don't we have her whole body torn to pieces, lest the other Christians also presume to speak savagely with similar arrogance against our gods? [79] Therefore come all of you who suffer the injury to the gods! Seize this sorceress and torture her with dreadful punishments and make her undergo a most cruel death! Then, if it is proper, let her call out for help from the god about whose protection she boasts.'*

[80] *But it happened that when² she was being dragged to her punishment some people, pitying the beauty of the virginal appearance that was to perish by an unworthy death, were persuading her that she should rather obey the emperor than lose the flower of her youth by resisting; they spoke to her in this way: [81] 'O ideal of virginal beauty, o sight of sunny radiance, what is such great obstinacy of the mind that a girl of noble blood, to whom riches and honours are being offered for free, should choose death of her own accord? O virgin worthy of the office of empress, take thought for your very flourishing youth and do not allow the blooming sight of your beauty to perish by an immature death!' [82] The venerable virgin answered them: 'O men, put aside the vain weeping of lamentation and do not waste your querulous voices for the loss of my beauty because my flesh, which seems to be flourishing to you, is like grass³, and its glory is in the same way like the flower of grass while – as soon, with the spirit departing – it withers and consumed by worms it will be returned to dust whence it took its primordial origin. [83] Therefore do not cry over my premature death and do not be troubled because such torture for me is not death leading to destruction but a journey leading to life. Rather confer such wailing on yourselves, because there awaits you not a journey leading to the hope of renewal, but death leading to the pain of eternal perdition.' [84] At these words of the blessed virgin some of them felt compunction and withdrew themselves from the worship of the idols and the association of the emperor, still they did not want this to be generally known.*

² *Factum est autem cum* = biblical.

³ Psalm (sept.) 102.15-16: 'homo sicut faenum dies eius tamquam flos agri sic efflorescit'. Iesaja 40.6-7: 'omnis caro faenum et omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri exsiccatur est faenum et cecidit flos quia spiritus Domini sufflavit in eo vere faenum est populus'.

918-34

[85] Cum ad hæc tyrannus nimio furore succenderetur superveniens quidam urbis præfectus nomine Cursathes et ipse vir Belial, exclamat: 'o magne', inquit, 'imperator, non videt adhuc Katerina tale genus tormenti quo exterreatur ut adquiescat tibi ad immolandum diis nostris. [86] Iube ergo ut infra hoc triduum sint factæ quattuor rotæ quarum orbes et intimi circuli clavis prominentibus *et acutis* præfigantur, radii vero earum serris peracutis denso ordine *et mordaci acumine* imbuantur. [87] Has iuxta rotas Katerina exposita volventis machinæ impetum sedens intueatur, ut ipso terrore ad culturam deorum incurvetur. Sin autem mox rotali impacta machinamento, *hinc inde serris et clavis mordacibus discerpta ad Christianorum* 934 + 937 *terrorem* inaudito pereat exemplo.' [88] Nec mora: iubet tyrannus accelerari rotarum 936 + 941 pœnale tormentum. Et iam dies tertia illuxerat et rotæ in medio prætorii expositæ 942-44 terrorem circumspectantibus incutiebant. *At virgo nullo pœnarum apparatu terrebat; mens eius namque a Christo fundata nec blandimentis mulceri poterat nec minis terri.*

85 cum] cumque *T B*, om. *R* || ad hæc] om. *B*, ad hæc tunc *R* || nimio] vehementissimo *H* || *R* || succenderetur] succendetur *R* || urbis præfectus] p. u. *Z K Mk* || exclamat] furentem regem ad novam insaniam succendit (accendit insaniam *Deh*) et tormenta tormentis accumulat *B Deh*, exclamabat *Bro* || inquit] inquit *T Z K Mk Bro M* || videt] vidit *Bro* || adhuc] om. *Mk* || tormenti] tormentorum *B* || exterreatur] exterreat *Mk*, terreatur *M* || ut] et *H B R* || diis] diis magnis *B Deh*

86 ergo] om. *B* || ut infra hoc triduum] i. h. t. u. *Bro* || sint] sunt *R* || quarum orbes] quorum extremi orbes *B* || radii vero] radioli *K M* || earum] articulares quibus altrinsecus rotarum orbes iuncti reguntur *B Deh* || serris] ferreis *Z*, syris *B*, ferris *K Bro M*, ferris ante preacutis *Mk* || imbuantur] ambiantur *B*

87 has iuxta] i. h. *Mk* || sedens] om. *R* || intueatur] intuetur a. c. *Mk* || ipso] ipsa *T Bro* || mox] om. *Mk* *£* || inaudito] om. *Bro*

*87 *Christianorum terrorem*] t. *C. Deh*

88 iubet tyrannus] t. i. *B* || accelerari] accelerare *T Z K Mk Bro M £* || rotarum] om. *Mk M* || iam] cum iam *Bro* || dies tertia] t. d. *T* || tertia] tertius *V £ N*, terram *LP*, om. *K Mk M* || illuxerat] illuxisset *Bro* || et] om. *Bro* || prætorii] om. *K M* ||

circumspectantibus] circumspicientibus *Z*, circumstantibus *Bro Q Y £ Q* || incutiebant] incuebant *M*

*88 *eius*] om. *Deh* || *terreri*] *exterreri Q*, *absterreri Deh*

[85] When the tyrant was inflamed by a very great anger at these words, a certain prefect of the city came along, by name of Cursathes, and himself a man of the devil, and he exclaimed and said: 'O great emperor, Katherine does not yet see such kind of torment as to terrify her to give in to you and sacrifice to our gods. [86] Therefore order that within three days from now, four wheels be made whose outer and inner circumferences are pierced with projecting *and sharp* nails, indeed that their spokes are clustered with very sharp saws in tight arrangement *and cutting sharpness*. [87] When Katherine has been put right next to these wheels, as she is sitting let her watch the motion of the turning machine so that by the very fear she may be influenced to the worship of the gods. But if not, soon fixed to the wheeled instrument, *then hence torn apart by the sharp saws and spokes to the horror of the Christians*, she may die as an unheard-of example. [88] There is no delay: the tyrant orders the penal torment of the wheels to be speeded up. And now the third day had dawned, and the wheels, put out in the middle of the palace, were striking fear into the onlookers. *But the virgin was not alarmed by any instrument of punishment; because her will, strengthened by Christ, could not be softened by blandishments or deterred by threats.*

945-48 [89] Ipsa denique pœnalis machina hac arte expolita erat, ut duæ uno ordine volverentur, duæ autem contrario impetu agerentur, ut illæ deorsum lacerando contraherent istæ repugnantes sursum devorando impingerent.

948-69 [90] Has inter media exposita Christi famula inter serras et tarincas ferreas ex motu rotarum membratim horribiliter discerpenda, erectis in cælum oculis tacitæ orationis verba ad deum fundebat: [91] 'deus omnipotens qui te in periculis et necessitate invocantibus pia opitulatione subvenire non desinis, exaudi me in hac necessitate ad te clamantem et præsta ut pœnalis hæc fabrica cælestis ictu fulminis attrita dissolvatur, ut manifestam potentiam tuam qui circumstant intuentes glorificent nomen tuum sanctum quod est benedictum in sæcula. [92] Tu scis, Domine, quia non timore passionis hæc obsecro, quæ silienti corde quovis mortis genere ad te venire et te videre desidero, sed ut hii qui per me credituri sunt, in te certiores de tuo adiutorio et constantiores in confessione tui nominis perseverent.' [93] Necdum virgo verba finierat et ecce angelus domini de cælo descendens molem illam vehementi impetu ita concussit ut partes avulsæ super infusum populum tanta vi excuterentur ut quattuor milia de ipsa turba necarentur, illa nimirum non degenerata ultione quam de Chaldeis Babylonica fornax olim exegerat. Quid plura? Dolor et confusio gentilium, laus et exultatio Christianorum. Ipse tyrannus dentibus frendens mente turbatus quid agat excogitat.

89 pœnalis] pœnale R || hac arte] ita Bro || expolita] exposita K Bro M R Y E H Z || duæ¹] duæ rotæ Bro || uno ordine] o. u. R E N || autem] om. Bro || contrario] ultra B, contrarie K || contraherent] contraherentur K, contrahentur M || istæ] illæ Z R || repugnantes sursum] repugnando sursum B L om. Bro

90 inter] intus Bro || media] medias I T Z B K Mk M Bro R || exposita Christi famula] C. f. e. K Mk R Qob || tarincas] tahrincas T, troncas Z, zarinquas B, carincas Bro, tharincas M, taringas R || oculis] luminibus Bro || tacitæ orationis] tacitam orationem B || verba .. deum] om. B || deum] dominum K, dominum deum M ||

*91 et¹] om. B Y || potentiam tuam] p. t. P P Q potentiam I Z potentie tue virtutem Qob || circumstant intuentes] circumstent instuant B

*92 in te] om. C D Z post per me Qob

93 et¹] om. B || de cælo descendens] descendens K, descendens d. c. Bro || descendens] descendit Z, descendebat Bro || molem] molemque Z || illam] istam Bro || vehementi .. partes] vehementi turbinis ictu impactam tanto [tanto: turbinis ictu toto B] impetu concussit ut ruptis compagibus partes B Qob || ita] om. Mk || impetu] impetu turbinis R || concussit] excussit K || infusum] astantem T, visum K || excuterentur] excuteretur K L excuteretur a. c. C excuterent Z || ut² .. necarentur] om. B || milia] milla hominum K || de²] ex Z K Mk M || gentilium] gentium K M || laus] vox K Mk R Qob || turbatus] confusus Mk, nimium turbatus M || quid agat] post tyrannus T || excogitat] ignorat T

*93 virgo verba] verba v. Qob || non] nunc B

[89] Moreover, that penal machine had been refined with such skill that two wheels were being turned in one direction, and two were being driven by an opposite motion so that the first set of wheels would tear by drawing together downwards, the other set would claw in and devour by fighting back.

[90] The maid of Christ in their midst, exposed among the saws and iron spikes, to be horribly torn apart *limb by limb by the movement of the wheels*, with her eyes lifted up to the sky poured out to God words of silent prayer: [91] *'All-powerful God who do not cease to stand by with pious help those imploring you in dangers and difficulty, heed me calling to you in this difficulty and grant that this construction of punishment be broken to pieces by a blow of heavenly thunder, so that those standing round see your unmistakeable power and glorify your holy name which is blessed forever.* [92] *You know, Lord, that I do not beseech you for this through fear of the passion, I who with thirsting heart long to come to you and see you by whatever kind of death, but so that those who are to believe in you through me may persist, more certain of your help and more steadfast in the confession of your name.'* [93] The virgin had not yet finished her words when behold an angel of the Lord, coming down from heaven, struck that structure with such a violent blow that the torn parts shot out over the streaming people with such force that four thousand of that very crowd were killed, *evidently this was not a vengeance more unworthy than the one that the Babylonian furnace once carried out against the Chaldeans.*⁴ What then? There was pain and confusion among the pagans, praise and rejoicing among the Christians. The tyrant himself, *gnashing his teeth*, troubled in his mind, was thinking out what he should do.

⁴ cf. Daniel 3:48-49: et erupit et incendit quos repperit iuxta fornacem de Chaldeis, angelus autem descendit cum Azaria et sociis eius in fornacem et excussit flammam ignis de fornace. Also Ilincmar of Reims: *ut olim Babylonixa fornax* (2x).

970-76 [94] Erat regina desuper spectans divinæ ultionis prodigium, quæ protinus
arrepto itinere se in conspectu belvæ sævientis immersit, [95] 'quid tu', inquiring,
'miserande coniunx contra deum eluctaris? Quæ te insania adversus factorem
tuum insurgere coegit? *An tu prospero exitu finire arbitraris certamen quod adversus Deum et famulos*
976 + *famulasque ipsius sumpsisti?* Agnosce vel nunc in præsentī facto quam potens sit
983-84 Christianorum deus et quia dii tui idola vana sunt, quæ nec sibi nec cultoribus suis
985-88 aliquid præstare possunt.' [96] Attonitus ad hæc tyrannus et nimio furore
succensus in hanc vocem erupit: 'quid tu, o regina, ita loqueris? Num te quoque
magicis artibus seductam Christianorum aliquis subvertit et a cultura deorum
998-1006 avertit? [97] Iuro ergo tibi per magnum deorum imperium quod nisi maturius *ab*
hac stultitia resipiscens deos nostros adoraveris, extortis a pectore mamillis longo
cruciatu torqueberis et sic caput tuum a cervice recidetur et carnes tuæ feris et
volatilibus dilacerandæ reicientur.' [98] Iubet igitur *tyrannus crudelis* ministris eam
contemptibiliter apprehendi et ad locum supplicii trahi.

94 erat] erat autem B, erat dudum Dob, om. R || spectans] expectans K M || protinus]
mox T K Mk Bro M || quæ protinus] et quæ prius se occultabat propter metum viri sui
nunc B Dob, om. R || arrepto .. se] om. B || belvæ sævientis] s. v. T || immersit] ingessit
T B K Mk M, inciecit Bro, inmisit R Z

95 tu] om. Mk || inquiring] inquit B Mk R D || eluctaris] oblutaris B || quæ .. coegit]
om. K M || insurgere coegit] c. i. Mk || coegit] fecit R E || nunc] nec II R || facto] festo
Bro || sit] est II Z Dob || tui] tui et Bro || idola vana sunt] s. v. i. M || cultoribus]
sculptoribus T || cultoribus suis] s. c. Bro || possunt] add. s. l. T, poterunt Mk

*95 finire] furore B || Deum .. sumpsisti] factorem tuum insurgere capit contra famulos et
famulas eius contra sumpsisti sanguinis ardore B

96 in] ad Z || erupit] erupit ut T, prorupit Z K Mk R || quid .. loqueris] om. Bro || o] o
D, om. K Mk || ita] sic R || quoque] om. Mk || seductam Christianorum] c. s. T ||
aliquis] post quoque T || subvertit] fabritit R

97 iuro] iubeo T || ergo] om. B P || tibi] et tibi iuro T, tibi o regina B || deorum
imperium] i. d. B || quod] om. T || resipiscens] resipiscas B, respiciens V, respiciens LP
|| deos nostros adoraveris] diis immolaveris eosque adoraveris B || a pectore] primo II
Dob || longo] longinquo T || torqueberis] torquebis R || et sic] om. T || caput]
capudque T || et carnes .. reicientur] om. B || tuæ] tuas K, om. Dob || volatilibus]
volucris M || dilacerandas] dilacerandas Dob, dilacerandæ II R, om. T Z K Mk Bro M

98 igitur] ergo T Mk E N Q S P || Z || eam] om. Z B || apprehendi] reglam apprehendere
matronam B Dob

*98 tyrannus crudelis] t. crudelissimus P, c. i. Dob

[94] There was the queen, watching from above the miracle of the divine revenge, she immediately set out on the path and plunged herself into the sight of the raging monster, [95] ‘why do you, pitiable husband, struggle against God? What madness has compelled you to rise up against your maker? *Can it really be that you think you can end with a favourable outcome the fight that you have taken up against God, his servants and his maidens?* Recognize now at least, in the present deed, how powerful the god of the Christians is and that your gods are empty idols, that cannot take achieve anything either for themselves or for their worshippers.’ [96] The tyrant was stunned at these words, and kindled by a very great anger he burst out with these words: ‘O queen, why are you speaking in this way? Has one of the Christians also seduced you with magic tricks, ruined you and turned you away from the worship of the gods? [97] I therefore swear to you by the great power of the gods that unless you repent pretty quickly *from this stupidity* and honour our gods, you will be tortured by a protracted torment as your breasts are pulled off from your chest, and then your head will be cut off from your neck and your flesh will be flung aside to the wild animals and birds to be torn into pieces. [98] Then *the cruel tyrant* ordered the attendants to seize her with contempt and to drag her to the place of punishment.

1006-23 [99] Quæ respiciens ad beatam Katerinam dixit: 'o veneranda virgo Christi, funde preces ad dominum *pro cuius nomine certaminis huius luctamen apprehendisti ut infra instantem passionis articulum confirmet cor meum ne coronam ab eo promissam metu passionis amittam.*' [100] Ad quam pretiosa virago: 'ne timeas', inquit, 'o deo dilecta regina sed viriliter age quia hodie tibi pro transitorio regno commutabitur æternum,

hodie inquam immortalis vitæ
accipies præmium.'

*pro mortali sponso immortalem tibi acquires, pro pœnis
requiem permanentem, pro celeri obitu interminabilis vitæ
hodie percipies natale principium.*

[101] *Ad hanc vocem venerabilis matrona in agonia robustior effecta tortores sponte hortatur ne tyrannica iussa ultra implere morentur. Tunc ministri extra civitatem eam ducentes ferreis hastilibus regias mamillas traiciunt, et sic suspensas ab imo pectore crudeliter mammas evellunt. Dehinc gladio percussa felici martyrio consummata est vicesima tertia die mensis Novembris.*

99 quæ] regina vero cum a ministris traheretur R || ad] om. Bro || virgo Christi] c. v. Z K M || dominum] filium M || infra] infra huius B, om. R || instantem] influentem Bro, instante R L || passionis'] p. meæ Mk || articulum] hoc articulo R || confirmet cor meum] cor m. c. B || coronam] choronas B || ne .. amittam] habeam pro passionis articulo promissam amittere quā B || passionis'] om. R

*99 apprehendisti] apprehendit S, apprehendi Doh

100 pretiosa] beata T || o] om. K Mk Bro || deo] adeo Z, a deo Bro, om. K M || tibi] om. B || æternum] regnum æternum M || inquam] inquit K, inquitens Bro ||

*100 acquires] tibi acquires Doh || percipies] participes B

101 eam] eam protinus M || regias] om. Bro || regias mamillas] m. r. T || traiciunt .. mammas] om. Z || traiciunt] eiciunt B, trahunt K Mk M || sic] om. K || suspensas] post pectore Mk, suspendentes Bro || pectore crudeliter] p. c. DE pectore B, c. p. Bro Doh || mammas] om. II B Bro, mammas eius K M || evellunt] subtraxerunt B, evelliunt R || dehinc] dehunc R || felici martyrio] om. II, fideliter B || felicissimo martirio M, martyrio post est R || consummata est] consumpta est Z Bro, migravit ad dominum II, migravit ad Christum B Doh

*101 sponte] sponsi B || implere] om. Doh

[99] Looking back she said to Katherine: 'O venerable virgin of Christ, pour out prayers to the Lord *in whose name you have taken up the struggle of this fight* that – within the imminent moment of suffering – he make strong my heart lest I lose through fear of suffering the crown promised by him.' [100] The precious heroine said to her: 'Don't be afraid, queen dear to god, but act man-like because today for you the fleeting reign will be exchanged for an eternal one,

today I say you will receive the prize of
immortal life.

*instead of a mortal one you will obtain an immortal
husband, instead of punishments permanent peace,
instead of a swift death you will receive today the
original beginning of eternal.*

[101] In response to this voice the venerable matron, strengthened in her sacrifice, deliberately encourages the torturers that they should no longer delay to carry out the tyrannical orders. Then the attendants led her outside the city and pierced the royal breasts with iron spears, and as the breasts were thus suspended they cruelly tore them off from the depths of her chest. Then she was struck by the sword and she died a happy martyrdom on the twenty-third day of the month of November.

1023-28 [102] Porphyrius autem noctu cum suis auferens corpus reginae et martyris
conditum aromatibus sepelivit. [103] Mane autem facto fit quaestio de corpore
reginae, quis illud sustulisset. De quo cum multos ad supplicium pertrahi
1032-33 Porphyrius videret, constanter ante tribunal irrui dicens: [104] 'vesano te spiritu, o
Caesar, agitari manifestum est, qui humanis corporibus nec etiam sepulturam
1035-52 indulges. [105] Verumtamen si reos esse iudicas qui Christi famulam sepelierunt,
hoc crimine solus ego periclitari desidero. Nam ego sum qui gloriosam Christi
martyrem et ego Christi confessor sepelivi.' [106] Hic tyrannus velut alto vulnere
saucius pro planctu rugitum velut amens emisit quo tota regia pertonuit. 'o, o me
miserum, o omnibus miserandum, cui tollitur omne quod nostri imperii videtur
subsidium. [107] Ecce Porphyrius qui erat unicus animae meae custos et totius
laboris solatium in omni cura et sollicitudine singulare michi praesidium, ecce hic
deorum nostrorum culturam pro dolor aspernatur et Iesum Christianorum deum
publica voce confitetur!'

102 autem] igitur Z K Mk Bro M, om. B || noctu] nocturnum II, nocte R P, nocte post suis B,
nocte post auferens K, || cum suis] om. T || et martyris] om. B || sepelivit] honorifice
sepelivit M

103 quis] et quis B || illud] istud K || cum] om. Z || multos] milites R || pertrahi]
protrahi Bro || Porphyrius] post supplicium II R || videret] videns Z || tribunal] tribunal
imperatoris B Deh || irrui] irrupit B

104 te spiritu] s. t. B || agitari] post spiritu B || nec] nunc B || indulges] prohibes B

105 esse iudicas] i. e. Bro || Christi famulam] f. C. K, famulam Dei Mk || hoc] pro hoc K
M || periclitari desidero] d. p. K, desidero pro te periclitari M || gloriosam] om. B,
gloriosam ancillam et Bro || Christi martyrem] Christi famulam B, m. c. Bro L Christi
confessorem K M || martyr .. Christi] erased Mk || et .. confessor] om. Z K || Christi
confessor] confessor C T || confessor] confessorem Mk || sepelivi] post famulam B

106 hic] hinc T K M R G L W E ad haec autem B, tunc Bro || tyrannus] post vulnere B ||
alto] om. Mk || saucius] sauciatus Z Mk Bro || rugitum] rugitu B || amens] om. M ||
velut amens emisit] e. v. a. K || regia] regia domus B, regio Bro, regia aula K Mk,
aula regia M || pertonuit] personuit B, sonuit R || o] om. T B K Mk Bro M Q S A P Z ||
omnibus] me omnibus Z, hominibus B || videtur] praecipue summa B Deh || subsidium]
praecipuum T Z K Mk M Bro R, requisium B, requirit Deh

107 ecce] et ecce M || unicus] om. Mk Bro || meae custos et] om. B || laboris] om. Z || in
.. sollicitudine] et solitudine B || cura] cura cura R || ecce] om. B || hic] hinc B || pro
dolor] pro dolor D pro hidolorum Bro, pro hoc dolor M, pro hoc dolor R || et ..
confitetur] om. Z || deum] dominum Bro || publica] prophana T B K Mk Bro M R ||
confitetur] confitetur C D N profitetur B K Mk Deh

[102] But at night Porphyrius with his men carried off the body of the queen and martyr, embalmed it with perfumes and buried it. [103] However when the morning came there was inquiry about the body of the queen, who had carried it off. As a result, when Porphyrius saw that many people were being dragged off for punishment, he steadfastly rushed before the tribunal and said: [104] 'It is clear that you are being driven by a frenzied spirit, o Caesar, you who do not even allow a burial for human bodies. [105] Still, if you judge those who buried the servant of Christ to be culprits, I desire for this crime to be tried alone. For it is who buried the glorious martyr of Christ, and I am a believer in Christ.' [106] Hereupon the tyrant, as if injured by a deep wound, let out a demented bellow as lamentation which resounded through the entire palace: 'O, o miserable me, o to be pitied by all, from whom is being taken everything which is seen as the support of our kingdom. [107] Behold Porphyrius, who was the only guardian of my mind and the comfort of all trouble in every preoccupation and the help for me in every anxiety, behold – for shame – he rejects the worship of our gods and confesses to Jesus the god of the Christians with a public voice!'

- 1058-61 [108] His dictis omnes commilitones eius seorsum advocans dum de Porphyrii
conversione quæstionem faceret omnes una voce se Christianos esse fatebantur nec
metu mortis a fide Christi et Porphyrii societate avelli se posse testabantur. [109]
1093 + At ille insania et furore debriatus, iubet omnes una cum Porphyrio extra civitatem
1074-77 decollari et corpora eorum canibus corrodenda dimitti. Consummata est itaque et
eorum passio *mense Novembrio die vicesima quarta, quarta feria* in sanctæ fidei testimonio.
1078-79 [110] Postera die Maxentius sedens pro tribunali beatam Katerinam sibi
1084-86 iubet præsentari. Cui sic ait: 'ne nos, o malefica decepatrix, amplius protrahas.
Quod vis unum e duobus elige: aut maturius diis offer libamina aut hodie capitali
1089-90 plecteris sententia.' [111] Cui virgo: 'te', inquit, 'tyranne diutius protrahere non
quæro. Fac quæcumque animo concepisti, paratam me videbis ad omnia
sustinenda quæ michi inferre potueris.'

108 omnes] *om.* B Bro || ipsius] eius II || advocans] advocant Mk, convocans M,
advocatis R || de] *om.* K || Porphyrii conversione] c. P. Bro || conversione
quæstionem] q. conversatione K, conversatione q. Mk, q. c. M || quæstionem] quæstione
R || faceret] facerent K Bro P₁ || se] *om.* B || se Christianos] C. s. Z Mk || fatebantur]
fatebantur D Δ protestabantur B Deb Δ || Christi fide] f. C. II || se] *om.* T Z ||
testabantur] testantur Z, fatebantur B, ~~fateban~~ testabantur R

109 ille] illa B || insania et furore] f. et i. T || debriatus] inebriatus Z || iubet] iussit II R
|| omnes] *om.* B || una] *om.* T B || decollari] produci et decollari M || et] que T, *om.* Mk
|| canibus] canibus et avibus M || dimitti] sic D L N Δ II Z demitti B, emitti Dob
|| consummata] consummatum T || itaque et] qui et ita T || eorum] horum II Bro R Deb
illorum T || in] sub II, ubi in B || sanctæ] sancta II, sententiæ B

*109 mense Novembrio] menso Novembro B

110 postera] postera autem R Deb || Maxentius] *om.* B || sibi] *om.* B M P₁ Q II Z ||
præsentari] adduci B II Z || sic] *om.* K M || nos] vos M || o] *om.* K || malefica
decepatrix] malefici deceptione K M || protrahas] decipias Bro || quod] quid II || unum]
om. R || e] de B Bro E || offer] offeris II K R, inferas Deb || plecteris sententia] sententia
punieris B

111 te] tunc K M || tyranne diutius protrahere] p. t. d. II, d. t. trahere B, p. d. t. R ||
protrahere usque ad finem] *om.* T || non quæro] nolo B || quæcumque] omnia
quæcumque M || concepisti] cepisti R || paratam] parata II R || me] *om.* Bro, enim me
K M || potueris] poteris M E N H Z

[108] After the emperor had spoken these words, he called forward all Porphyrius' fellow soldiers one by one, in order to ask them questions about the conversion of Porphyrius, all of them in one voice declared that they were Christians and they affirmed that fear of death could tear them away from the faith in Christ or the company of Porphyrius. [109] But he, intoxicated with madness and anger, ordered them all to be beheaded outside the city together with Porphyrius, and their bodies to be abandoned and gnawed up by dogs. And so their suffering too came to an end *on the twenty-fourth day of the month of November* in testimony to the holy faith.

[110] On the next day Maxentius, sitting in his tribunal, orders blessed Katherine to be presented to him. He said to her the following: 'O wicked deceiving woman, do not put us off any longer. Choose whichever one you wish from these two: either offer libations to the gods pretty quickly or you will be punished today by execution.' [111] The virgin said to him: 'tyrant, I do not seek to put you off any longer. Do whatever you have devised in your mind, you will see me ready to bear everything that you can inflict on me.'

1093-1106 [112] Sic effatam tyrannus iubet eam extra portam civitatis decollari. Quæ cum ad locum passionis duceretur, *respiciens vidit turbam multam virorum et mulierum sequentium se atque plangentium, inter quas multæ virgines et matronæ nobiles eam persequentes lamentabantur.* [113] Conversa igitur ad illas dixit: 'o generosæ matronæ, o virgines clarissimæ, nolite obsecro passionem meam lamentabili planctu onerare, sed congaudete michi precor potius quia vocat me Christus deus et dominus meus qui est amor et sponsus unicus meus *qui est merces copiosa sanctorum, decus et corona virginum.* [114] Vos vero planctum istum lacrimabilem quem inaniter in me deperditis in vos ipsas convertite, ne vos in hoc gentilitatis errore dies suprema deprehendat pro quo fletus æternos subeatis.'

1107-11 [115] Hæc locuta a percussore orandi spatium indulgeri sibi poposcit. Quod cum spiculator annueret, elevatis in cælum oculis oravit dicens: 'o spes et salus credentium, o decus et gloria virginum, Iesu bone, gratias tibi ago qui me intra collegium ancillarum tuarum connumerare dignatus es.

112 effatam] affata Z, affatam E I Q S Q II tyrannus] post eam B II portam civitatis] civitatem Z Mk II decollari] pertrahi et caput eius decollari M II sic .. eam] postera vero die maxentius beatam katherinam C II quæ] quam Z II ad] om. Z II locum passionis] passionis locum Z, locum præfixum passionis B, locum passioni præfixum Deh, locum passionis E I Q S (and C p.c.) II duceretur] properaret B Deh II multæ] om. Bro II persequentes] persequente K, prosequentes Bro, sequentes M

*112 virgines] præcipue virgines Deh II eam persequentes] om. Deh

113 conversa .. dixit] om. Z II igitur] autem B, igitur virgo sancta C, ergo K Mk M II illas] eos B II generosæ] gloriosæ K M II nolite obsecro] o. n. K II obsecro] ergo C II lamentabili .. onerare] lamentari Z II congaudete] gaudete Z De cum gaudere B, congaudere Bro II michi] om. Z II precor potius] potius p. Z II vocat me] post meus² Z II amor] amore H, amor meus Z B Mk Deh II unicus meus] u. m. G, m. u. Mk Bro

*113 virginum] vigilantium B

*114 deperditis] deperdistis B II ne] nec B

115 locuta] locuta gloriosa virgo Katerina R II elevatis] erectis Z K Mk, erecta B, erexit M II in] ad Bro II oculis] ante in B De L, oculos ante in M II spes et salus] salus et spes B II credentium] omnium credentium C II Iesu] Iesu rex Z K Mk Bro M II gratias tibi] t. g. B

*115 a] om. B

[112] When she had spoken thus the tyrant ordered her to be decapitated outside the city. When she was being led to the place of suffering, *looking back she saw a great crowd of men and women following her and wailing, amongst whom many virgins and noble matrons were following her and lamenting.*⁵ [113] Therefore she turned round to them and said: 'O high-born matrons, o most noble virgins, don't, I beseech you, burden my suffering with a mournful lamentation, but I beg you rather rejoice with me because Christ, my God and Lord, who is my love and my only husband *who is the plentiful reward for saints, the glory and crown of virgins* calls me. [114] *But turn this tearful lamentation which you are wasting for nothing on my behalf onto yourselves, lest the supreme day comes upon you unexpectedly in this error of paganism, for which you shall undergo eternal weeping.'*

[115] When she had spoken these words, *she asked the executioner that a time to pray be granted to her. When the soldier on guard agreed,* she raised her eyes to heaven and prayed, saying: 'O hope and salvation of believers, o honour and glory of virgins, good Jesus, I thank you, you who have deigned to count me among the fellowship of your maid-servants.

⁵ Luke 23:27-29: Sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi et mulierum quae plangebant et lamentabant cum. Conversus autem ad illas Iesus dixit filiae Hierusalem nolite flere super me sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros, quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent beatæ steriles et ventres qui non genuerunt et ubera quae non lactaverunt.

1111-15 [116] Fac ergo hanc cum ancilla tua obsecro misericordiam ut quicumque in
laudem et gloriam nominis tui passionis meae memoriam egerint, sive in exitu
animae suae aut etiam in quacumque angustia vel necessitate me invocaverint,
1118-21 celerem obtineant effectum tuae propitiationis. [117] Ecce pro tuo nomine domine
Iesu Christe *expleto certaminis mei agone* ferientis expecto gladium, tu quod carnifex
1123-31 tollere non potest precor suscipe spiritum meum.' [118] Necdum orationem
compleverat et ecce vox ad eam de caelo redditur: 'veni dilecta mea, speciosa mea,
ecce tibi beatitudinis aperta est ianua, ecce *quietis eternae mansio tibi parata adventum tuum*
expectat iam in occursum tuum chorus ille virgineus sanctorum *exultantibus animis* cum
triumphali adventat corona. [119] Veni ergo et ne solliciteris de donis quae
postulas, nam et his qui passionem tuam devotis mentibus celebraverint et qui in
periculis et necessitatibus te invocaverint, optata praesidia promitto de caelis.'

116 obsecro] *om.* K Mk Bro M || obsecro misericordiam] m. o. C || gloriam] *om.* B ||
meae] mei B || memoriam egerint] e. m. Bro || egerint] fecerit Z, fecerint B || suae] *om.*
K C || etiam] et in R || quacumque] qualicumque Bro Q E || angustia] tribulatione Mk,
tribulatione vel a. Σ Q || necessitate] in necessitate C || me invocaverint] i. m. Z ||
celerem] celebre B || obtineant effectum] e. o. K Bro || tuae] tui H, *om.* M
117 Christe] *om.* K Mk Bro || expecto gladium] g. e. B D || tu .. meum] *om.* C || tu] et
Bro || quod] quem K Bro H Z || carnifex] carnisex *corr.* carinex R || tollere] auferre
Bro || potest] potes B, potuit K || precor] precor domine Z, *om.* K Mk, precor tu Bro ||
suscipe spiritum meum] spiritum m. s. Z

*118 *exultantibus] expectantibus* B

118 necdum .. corona] cumque finisset orationem, vox e celo elapsa est dicens ad eam:
exaudita est oratio tua. Veni ergo gloriosa, veni sanctissima virgo. Hec cum audisset beata
Katerina leta effecta de celesti permissione {sic} surrexit ab oratione C || compleverat]
finierat Mk || eam] eam est Mk || de caelo] *post* vox B || redditur] est emissa dicens Z,
emissa B K, emissa est Mk, est missa Bro, est emissa M || veni] veni ergo Mk, *post* mea¹
R || dilecta] verum dilecta R || beatitudinis] beatitudinis tibi B K || aperta est] aperitur
Z B K Mk Bro M Dob || tuum] *om.* Z || sanctorum] *ante* chorus K M, angelorum et
sanctorum Mk || adventat] adveniet Bro, advenit U

119 veni .. caelis] *om.* C || solliciteris] sis sollicita B || postulas] postulasti Mk, a domino
postulas M || et²] *om.* K M || devotis mentibus] *om.* Z K Mk M || celebraverint] *ante*
devotis B || et³ .. invocaverint] *om.* Mk Σ Q || necessitatibus] necessitatibus suis M || te]
post qui² Z || optata] operata Bro || caelis] caelo B || promitto de caelis] et celerem de
caelo opem promitto Bro, et opem celerem de caelo [caelis U] promitto Dob

[116] And so I beseech you, have this mercy with your servant, that whoever remembers me in praise and glory of your suffering, whether they call upon me at the passing away of the soul or even in any difficulty or necessity, they may receive the swift fulfilment of your grace. [117] Behold in your name Lord Jesus Christ *I have come to the end of my struggle's fighting and I await the executioner's sword, I pray, take up my spirit, which the executioner cannot take.* [118] She had not yet finished her prayer when behold a voice spoke back to her from heaven: 'Come my beloved, my beautiful, behold the door of happiness has been opened for you, behold *the house of eternal rest is ready for your arrival, already the virgineal* choir of the saints advances with *rejoicing hearts and* a triumphant crown to meet you. [119] So come and do not worry about the favours you ask for, for both to those who celebrate your passion with devout minds and to those who call on you in dangers and difficulties, I promise the desired help from heaven.'

1131-32 + [120] Facta ergo hac voce Christi virgo lacteam cervicem protendens a
1135 spiculatore decollata est. [121] Statimque de corpore eius lac pro sanguine effusum
1136-41 terram uberius irroravit. Angeli etiam assumptum corpus eius per altum aera
subvehentes in montem Synai deposuerunt *qui mons a loco occisionis distat viginti et eo*
1142-46 *amplius dierum*, quo in loco innumera ad laudem domini fiunt miracula. [122] De
sepulchro vero eius rivus olei indeficienter manare videtur; sed et de minutis
ossibus, quæ de sarcophago cum oleo effluunt ubicumque asportantur stillat
oleum, ex quo peruncta debilium corpora celeri medicina sanantur, præstante
domini nostri Iesu Christo cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum amen.

120 facta ergo .. 122 gloria] satellites vero accipientes eam secundum cesaris iussionem
decollaverunt eam vigesimo quinto die mensis novembris. Statimque de corpore eius lac
pro sanguine defluxit, angeli quoque gloriose martiris corpus accipientes exanime(?) in
monte Synai detulerunt, ubi per eam innumera divina virtus operari non desinit miracula C
120 ergo] igitur K || Christi virgo] v. C. B, *om. Bro* || protendens] extendens B
121 eius¹] *om. B K Mk* || terram] *om. K Mk M* || irroravit] irrigavit Z N C L H Z
irrogavit A || etiam] quoque Z B K Mk M R || eius²] eius D, *om. B M R Dob* || per ..
subvehentes] exaltam in aera sublevantes supportantes Z || aera] in aere B, in aera Bro M
|| montem] sic W H Z, monte Z K M Dob || quo] *om. Z*, ecce R || quo in] in quo Bro M
|| innumera] innumerabilia Bro || domini] dei M D F G L P₂ Q H Z || miracula]
mirabilia Z K Mk

*121 occisionis] *om. B D* || dierum] diebus B

122 vero] *om. Bro*, autem R || indeficienter] incessanter Z, conficienter B, indesinenter R
|| sed] nam B Dob || de minutis] de minimis K Mk, diminutis LP, de minimis M || de²]
om. B I Y || sarcophago] s. eius R || cum] *om. R* || ubicumque] et u. R || ubicumque
asportantur] *om. B* || oleum quo] *om. B* || ex] *om. H Bro C* || quo T Mk Dob || debilium]
debilia B || debilium corpora] c.d. Bro || celeri] celeris B || medicina sanantur] s.m. H R
|| præstante .. amen] *om. R* || præstante .. Christo] passa est beata Katerina mense
Novembrio vicesima sexta, hora tertia, servans diem et horam qua Christus pro mundi
redemptione ad passionem properavit B || præstante] regnante Bro || domino nostro
Iesu Christ] domini nostri Iesu Christi H || gloria] gloria cum patre et spiritu sancte
Bro || in .. amen] *om. H* || in] per B || sæcula sæculorum] infinita sæcula B

[120] Therefore, when this voice had spoken the virgin of Christ stretched out her milk-white neck and was decapitated by the executioner. [121] And immediately milk instead of blood poured out of her body and moistened the ground abundantly. Indeed angels took up her body, carried it through the lofty air and put it down on Mount Sinai, *which mountain was more than a twenty-day journey from the location of her killing, and even more, in which place* innumerable miracles for the glory of the Lord are happening. [122] In fact from her tomb a rivulet of oil is seen to flow incessantly; but even from tiny bones, which flow with the oil from the tomb, wherever they are taken, oil oozes and the bodies of the sick that are smeared with it are healed by a quick medicine, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, for whom honour and glory are forever, amen.

CONCLUSION

The examination of the *Vulgate's* diction and sources, combined with the earliest manuscript evidence has yielded crucial information for its geographical origin and date. As regards the area within which the *Vulgate*-author was active, I conclude that this is likely to have been northern France and/or the Lowlands. The localization of the eleventh-century manuscripts, combined with the evidence gained from such distinct words as *celeranter* and *tarinca*, defines a radius of c. 170km with Corbie at its centre. Fécamp and Lobbes are the outer demarcations in the west and the east respectively. Between them lie such centres as Rouen, Corbie, St Amand, St Quentin, and Valenciennes.

The use of Autpert's *Conflictus* in the *Vulgate* and the incorporation of a passage from the *Vulgate* into the Life of Amalberga furnish the following broad framework of dates within which the *Vulgate* was composed: 784 (death of Autpert) and 1052/1087 (Angers 121). If we take into account that Katherine's cult does not seem to have been known in the West before the end of the tenth century, we may assume that the *Vulgate*-author was active in the period between 900 and 1052/1087.

While the *Vulgate* clearly stands apart from the Katherine corpus as a whole by virtue of its popularity, it is obviously indebted to the early tradition. The kind of episodic detail present implies that the *Vulgate*-author was working from a model; it is impossible for him to have dreamt up in a vacuum an account of Katherine's Passion so similar to the others. I have discussed above the possibility that the version preserved in the unique manuscript Alessandrina 96 served as the model in question. That it was not uncommon for translations of saints' Lives to travel from Italy to France is proven by the eleventh-century Norman witnesses to Peter's Passion of Katherine and the manuscript of another Katherine-Passion now in Brussels (BR 944, s. xii).

Symeon of Trier is always cited as the most obvious candidate for bringing knowledge and relics of Katherine to Normandy, especially because he was actually a monk from Mt Sinai, where Katherine's body was believed to have been carried by

angels. But as the historical evidence reveals, his arrival in Normandy at the same time as Katherine is in all likelihood coincidental. Especially as regards the diffusion of her Passion, in addition to her appearance in calendars, it is much more plausible that connections between Italy and Normandy are the answer. Italy was in many cases the first point of contact with the West for Greek saints Lives. There they were translated by their hundreds, in centres such as Rome and Naples, and by people such as Anastasius and Paul the Deacon. These translations were then turned into more pleasing Latin prose – the account of Katherine's Passion produced by the subdeacon Peter of Naples is a case in point.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries connections between Normandy and Italy were good, and travel between the two countries went both ways. An outstanding example is Odo of Cluny, who brought his reform-movement to a number of Italian monasteries, among them the abbey of Monte Cassino. John of Salerno, his future biographer, accompanied him in Italy and appears to have travelled back with him to France (Fleury?) at least on one occasion. Could not the two of them have brought back to Fleury or Cluny a manuscript containing a Passion of St Katherine? Another prominent monastic reformer was William of Volpiano, who took the Cluniac reform from Cluny to Dijon and then, famously, to Normandy where he was instrumental in transforming the abbey of Fécamp into a shining beacon for learning in the region.

Against the backdrop of the monastic reforms that swept through the Norman monasteries, the use by the *Vulgate*-author of texts such as Autpert's *Conflictus* and the CZA takes on particular meaning. While the *Conflictus* is much more obviously a text aimed at those who are wavering in their resolve, the CZA is more rarefied. It is a heavy read by any means, but evidently it was being read by such authors as Isidore of Seville. Crucially, its survival in only a handful of manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries could be connected with the burgeoning reform. Needed were texts that would strengthen the measures put in place in the monasteries and what better way to influence the vacillating than by giving them fortifying books?

The Cluniac reform may thus be seen as a means of survival for the CZA;

however, it could also be argued that it was the reason the *Vulgate* came into existence. If its author was indeed a Benedictine monk, Katherine's intellectual prowess, already present in the Greek texts, became a means to an end. The composition of the *Vulgate* was not undertaken solely to promote the cult of Katherine, but to move forward the reform movement and to promote the sort of learning the Benedictine abbeys of Normandy were so renowned for.

Unlike the *Vulgate* and its genesis, the origin of the Greek texts is much more difficult to bring into focus. However, it is possible to trace in very broad terms the circumstances within which they came into being. The Greek hymn 'χορείαν σεπτὴν' was probably written by a hymnographer from the circle around Theodore of the Stoudios Monastery no later than the first half of the ninth century. The fact that he had used version B as the basis for his composition suggests that B predates his period of activity. The tantalizing parallels with the Life of Pansophios ('the all-wise') and other hagiographical texts hint at the possibility that Katherine's Passion ultimately originates from Syria or Palestine. The sustained polemic against idol-worship could be read against the backdrop of the Arab invasions into the Byzantine territory in the first half of the seventh century and the number of converts to Islam. Just as the *Vulgate*-author sought to rally his troops through the voice of Katherine, his counterpart in the Byzantine empire was perhaps trying to convince his fellow Christians of the superiority of their religion.

The presence of Sinai is a confirmed part of the early tradition and must have been significant. The difficulty lies in assembling enough evidence that will show why this was so. The hand of the Georgian monk John Zosimos has been identified in at least two late tenth-century Georgian manuscripts, both now at Sinai. One of them contains Katherine's Passion. In addition, the monastery of St Catherine's holds an Arabic manuscript, written at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, which includes a tract on the skull of Katherine. If the dating is correct, the Sinai-Katherine connection must have been active well before the turn of the millennium. To remedy this state of uncertainty as regards the origin of Katherine's Greek Passion, an

edition of the early Greek texts is imperative. The parallels with saints lives written in the south of the Byzantine empire could in this way be brought more fully into the light.

The placing of the *Vulgate*, for the first time, within a chronological and geographical framework has brought into focus another aspect of her textual corpus, over and above the little that is known about the other Greek and Latin accounts. We may well wonder who could have gone to the trouble to compose this medieval bestseller.



Fig. 8: St Katherine

PLATES

metui. patris cadauer in sepul-
 chro posuerunt. & magno sa-
 xo confestum cooperuerunt.
 Ibi cum digno seruatur honore.
 quod in fine sancti resurget in
 gloria. Omnis pene ciuitas. in ob-
 sequio funeris ruit. tali papa
 pastor cruore fudit in fine.
 Angli autem dei custodientes mo-
 numentum. diebus ac noctibus
 in ipsa basilica psallentes. ad
 instar uocis beatissimi lam-
 berti. modulatione dulcis-
 sima resonabant. Quos mul-
 ta ex loci illi habitatoribus au-
 dientes. & mirantibus. introi-
 re basilicam cupiebant. sed
 nullo modo intrare ausi erant.
 Et cum ad locum sanctum ut certius
 auditum intelligerent ad pro-
 pinquant. mox uoces psallen-
 tium paulatim silebant. Cunctique
 longi regressi essent. dulcis
 tantum resonabant. Sic famu-
 latus angelicus. iuxta sepul-
 chrum beati pontificis. ac cru-
 phalus martyris permanebat.
 Ineffabilis potentia. ocrata
 humani generis. quod tanta inue-
 stigatio potest misericordia. quan-
 ta seruassans ostendere digna-

est. ut non solum animas corporis. sed
 & cadauera angelorum custodiant.
 promissa tua redemptor sancti
 quod dubitare potest. quod huma-
 num genus perire non permittas.
 laus tibi christe. gloria. honor.
 potestas. in secula seculorum amen.

In vita sancti Katerine virginis

In urbe alexandrina erat
 quedam puella annorum duo de-
 uiginti speciosa ualde. sed quod
 pluris est. religiosa fide. que re-
 gis quandoque filia unica patre iam
 defuncto filie nomen amiserat. no-
 mine Katerina. hec parentum
 orbata solatio. tenera licet
 etate familiam que successio-
 ne hereditaria sibi inhereret
 puigili cura gubernabat. non
 quia seruorum aut ancillarum
 numerosa turba quod inter prima
 mortales putant delectabat.
 sed quia non sine crimine. esse.
 putabat. si patrum censum au-
 de retinens. fame auedia que-
 libet eorum preceperat. quod
 peccatum nihil commune habe-
 re cum seculo. de seculo. De
 his tamen quod seculo. et non sub-
 stantia. per seculo. sibi
 et seculo. et seculo.

Plate 1 – Angers 121, fol. 274 (from microfilm), s. xii^{1/2} hand

publica uoce p[ro]fuit. Inuenit uero
reginā a lege patria & cultura
deorū subuerit. nec aliā que
rendus nobis est conjugalis de
mentis architectus. Et quāuis
inrecupabile in damnum decon
iuge ab eo constet illatū hoc
potius eligo ut resipiscens ab hac
stultitia deos sibi placabiles
reddat. & in nrā ut exspectat
amicicia p[er]ducet. quā nrē
animaduersionis senectutem
experiat. His dictis. iussit
omēs cōmilitiones ipsius q[ui] latere
ei adhererent corā se adduci.
Quib[us] seorsū advocatis. dū de
porphiri conuersione questio
ne faceret. omēs una uoce se
xpianos. eē. p[re]stantē. nec
metu mortis a fide xpi & por
phiri societate dilapsuros.
Hinc tyrannus Aliq[ui] eorū pu
tans terrore p[er]narū appo
sico posse reuocari. iubet eos
exquisitis cruciari suppliciis.
Quos cū ad locū supplicii p[er]trahi
porphirius intueret. timens
ne timore passionis mētes eorū
turbarent. dixit tyranno. Quid
hoc impare sibi uult. q[uo]d horū

principē caput dūctos in
inqua. & mēbra inferiora
queris. Nā nisi me uultū p[ri]mo
reddideris. manē in his
bonē consumas. Ab his ergo
retrahere si q[uo]d habes. ego p[er] e
asto rationē redditurus. D
ei tyrannus. Tu caput & p[ar]te
horū es ut asseris. oportuit
est ut tu de te istis p[ro]beas ex
plū. uidelicet ut primus ab
hac stultitia resipiscas & n
bis cū gloriose uiuas. aut cer
primus gladio intercas. Ita
locutus. iubet hunc cū ceteris
cōmilitionib[us] suis extra ciuita
tē trahi. & amputatis capitis
corpora inhumata canibus
corrodenda emitti. Quidā
factū est. Consummata itaq[ue]
horū passio mense nouēbris
die uigesima quarta. feri q[ui]nto
Postera autē Le. xi.
die sedens p[re]tribunali
impiissimus tyrannus. nec
martyrū sanguine sacra
tus. beatā katherinā iubet
sibi p[re]sentari. Cui sic ait. Quā
quā tu omniū horū rea sis.
quos arte magica deprauas

Plate 2 – Angers 121, fol. 278v (from microfilm), s. xi^{2/2} hand (between 1052 and 1087)

pendentes quia non leue aut mane
constat esse premium. pro quo sancti dei cor
pora sua diuisis tormentorum suppliciis
tradiderunt. Hec in causa extitit. qua
glose uirginis catherine memorabilem
certaminis agone stili officio propositum
enarrandum. ut dum infirmioris sexus
constantiam et imbecille status uirtute
attendimus. hoc nobis ad ignominiam
et obprobrium uitae quis esse dicat quod
puellas teneras per ignem et ferrum
ad patriam celestem tendere uideamus.
et nos barbari homines nec per pacem
christum sequi curamus. Et forte aliquis
dicat fidem catholicam per totum orbem
disseminatam christi nomen ubique gentium
fateri. et quia christianitas in suis prin
cipibus iam religiosa iamque fidelis etiam
persecutionis percella detumuit. iam uin
cula et uerbera. carceres et oculi ei. et
cetera suppliciorum genera perculsis
se manifestum est. et ideo christi colis iure
non potest imputari si his nostris tempo
ribus pernalibus tormentis non probantur.
quia persecutionis occasio sed ita pace iam
quiescit. hinc quisquis illa est tale da
mus responsum. Virgo haec non uniformi per
secutionis genere impugnata est. cui a
fronte exterius hostis a tergo incubebat
domesticus et occultus. Alia enim
intellegenda est persecutio que in ma
ior et magis noxia est. et qua non ma
terialis torquet seueritas. sed uitio
rum gignit aduersitas. Porro haec ge
nerosa uirago gemina oppugnatu
acie exanimata. et fuerit. et uictum
constanter euectis et conglutinis uir
orum acies uigiliter debellauit. Unde
gemina gloria triumphum in uictoria
ut spero. et laudanda memet pro

nitur. que puellari corpore sic sexu
uicit et seclum. ut et noxia carnis oblee
tamenta uitaret. et uictoriosa passi
one tormentorum genera superaret.
De hac igitur peredificatione locuturi.
tale sumamus exordium. **Explicit**
Traditionis prologus. Incipit passio.
Annales historie. quod constantinus
qui gubernacula imperii a patre
constantio suscepit. que uno et trigin
ta annis moderator egregius ieman
pacem ecclesiis post decem annos
quibus a persecutoribus uexabantur in
dulsit. hic constantinus eum rem
publicam strenue in galliis perura
ret. priorum milites romae alexan
dri herculii filii qui priuatis in
lucania morabatur. augusti nunciu
paucunt. Inde inter constantinum
et alexandrium bellum civile exortu est.
Alexandrius siquidem prius fugatus.
alexandrie partibus sese recepit. Au
dientis autem constantini intra uulnere
sua. bellis undique consurgentibus. de
tineri. ipse repentina rabie incen
tus ecclesiam christi zelo idolatrie per
sequi instituit. et ad prophanas sacri
cia christianos aut promissum tormen
tis incuruare. Anno igitur regni sui
tricesimo quinto. residens in ciuita
te alexandrie. in ora. feralia per uicinas
prouincias misit edicta. iubens christia
nos diis suis immolare. aut pernalibus
cruciatibus interire. Extat huius
modi edictum per regiones circuequas
et nationes emissum. alexandrius im
perator. his qui dicuntur. ad quae
scunt salutem. Iubet. et a imperiali
maiestate omni orbis. et a imperiali
diuites et pauperes. et nos in

Lc. I.

T. 10. 10. 10.

quia hodie tibi p[er] transitorio regno cōmutabit[ur] eternū. p[er] mortali sponso immortalē tibi adquies. pro p[er]mis requiē eternam. p[er] celesti obitu interminabilis uite hodie percipies natale principū. Ad hanc uocem uenerabilis uirgo in agonia robustior effecta. tortores sponte hortat[ur] ne tyrannica iussa ultra morent[ur]. Tunc ministri extra ciuitatē eam ducentes. ferreis hastilib[us] regias māmillas traieciunt. & sic suspensas ab imo crudelit[er] pectore māmās euellunt. Dehinc gladio percussa. felici martyrio migravit ad xpm̄. mēsis tertia die mensis nouēbris. feria quarta Porphyrius uero noctu assumptis secū quibus secretū suū palā esse uolebat. corpus regine & martyris conditum aromatib[us] sepeliunt. Mane autem facto. questio de corpore reginae fit quis illud sustulisset. De quo cū multos ad supplicium pertrahū uideret porphyrius. constant[er] ante tribunal imperatoris irruit dicens. Quid tu homines innoxios puniri mandasti imperator uelut sacrilegi reos. quos potius defensos esse oportuerat. si te naturę religio humana corpora a feris & uolantib[us] tollenda esse docuisset. Quia in re uesano te spiritu agitari manifestū est. qui humanis corporib[us] nec etiam sepulturā indulges. Que etenim gens tā barbara huiusmodi iudiciū edidit. ut uel cadauer exanime terre matris gremio sepeli p[er]hiberet. Verū tamen antequā innocentes perire consensim[us]. si re-

os esse iudicās qui xpi martyre se pelierunt. reatu huiusmodi nō reformido. Condemna certe si audes. qd[am] contra imperiū tuum xpi famulā sepeliunt. O expetendū cunctis fidelib[us] erumen sepulture humane. Vtinā & hoc in obiciās. ut ceteri relaxentur. Certe hoc erumine solus ego periclitari desidero. Nam ego sū qui gloriosā xpi martyre & ego xpi confessor sepulture gremio accumulauit. Hinc tyrannus uelut alto uulnere saucius. pro planetu rugitū uelut amens altu[us] emisit. quo toto regia p[er]tonuit. O o me miserū. o omib[us] miserandū. ut quid me in hanc erumnosam uitā natura mater edidit. cui tollit[ur] omne quod nr̄i imperii sūma p[er]pue requirit. Ecce porphyrius qui erat unicus animę meę custos & totius laboris solatiū. in quē ab omni cura & sollicitudine declinabā uelut singulare mihī p[er]fidū. ecce hinc nescio quā demoni infestatione supplantatus deorum nr̄orum culturā aspernat[ur]. & illū ih̄m quē uesana turba xp̄i norū p[er] dō colit. ut pote mente captus publica uoce p[er]fite[ur]. Hinc mirū reginā a lege patria & cultura deor[um] subuenit. nec aliis querendus nobis ē conugalīs demeritis architectus. Et quāuis irreparabile in damnum de coniuge conflet illatū. hoc potius eligo ut respiciens ab hac stultitia deos sibi placabiles reddat. & in nr̄a ut ceperat amicitia p[er]ducat. quā nobis animaduersionis sententiā experiri

ostendit. Vel in hac nobis conuersione dilectio proximi. nulla nisi signat
 auctoris. Aut huc conuersus lucis ei perfectus ut bona fortis opem admo
 net. Porro illuc. ut eadē bona opa solo supne mercedis intuitu geram
 huc. ut luceat lux nra corā hominib: & uideant bona nra opa. Illuc
 ut glorificent patrē nrm qui in celis ē. In una sabbati que noui testamē
 tī propria sollemnitas ē. instrum. ut spe future nre in xpo resurrectionis pa
 tient in pēntia omnia aduersa p xpo & ipsa mortis toleremus iniuria.
 Audientes ab aplo. quia si sps eius qui suscitauit ihm a mortuis habitat
 in nobis. qui suscitauit ihm a mortuis uiuificabit & mortalia corpora
 nra p inhabitantem spm eius in nobis. Cuius sps quia septiformis ē
 grā potest eodē septē dierū lunariū numero quo pfecta una sabbati
 id est dies dominica circūferi innotata n inconuenientē intelligi.

INCIPIT PROLOGVS IN PASSIONE SOR KATERINE
 VIRGINIS & MARTIRIS

¶ Vos scōrū fortia gesta ad memoriā posterorū transcribim. qd aliud agim n ut
 ita dica qdā incentiuū bellicū promouem. p qd imbelles animos auditorū
 ad bella dnica accendamus. ut cum plabonū exercitiis coronas adquisitas
 audierint. iā certi de spe retributionis ardentiores fiant ad tolerandas passio
 nes. hoc sane ppendentes quia n leue aut inane constat. eē. pmiū. p qd scī di sua
 corpora diris tormētōrū suppliciis tradiderunt. Hec in causā extitit. qua glō
 se uirginis katering memorabile certaminis agone stili officio. ppositū enar
 randum. ut dū infirmioris sexus constantia & imbecille etatis uirtutē atten
 dim. hoc nob ad ignominia & obprobriū iure qd. eē. dicat. qd puellas teneras p
 igne & ferrū ad patriā celestē tendē uidem. & nos barbati homines nec p pa
 cē xpm seq curam. Et forte aliq dicat. fidē catholicā p totū orbē disseminatā.
 xpi nom ubiq: gentiū fateri. & quia xpianitas in suis pncipib: iā religiosā iāq:
 fidelis ē. iā psecutionis pcella detymuit. iā uincula & uerba. carceres & etu
 lei. & cetera suppliciorū genera cessasse manifestū ē. & idō xpicolis iure
 n potest imputari. si his nris teporib: penalib: tormētis n pban. qd psecutio
 nis occasio sedata pace iā qeuit. huc quisq: ille ē. tale dam' responsū. Vir
 go hec n uniformis psecutionis genere impugnabat. cui a fronte exten' hostis
 hostis. atq: incubebat domesticus & occultus. Alia tm. ē. intelligenda p
 secutio. que immanior & magis noxia. ē. et quā materialis interquet seue
 ritas. sed uitiorū gignit aduersitas. Porro hec generosa uirago gemma op
 pugnantiū acie circūsepta. & furentē psequentiū rabie constant euicit.
 & conglobatas uitiorū acies uirilit' debellauit. Vnde gemino glōsa trium
 pho. inutilit' ut spo ad informandas mtes proponit. que puellari corpore

aceto clanculū nuntio. misit lictas regio amulo signatas p̄infra iacentes puincias.
 ad om̄s r̄thores & gr̄maticos. & q̄b; in doctrina fama celebrior nom̄ adquisierat.
 ut hui om̄s ad p̄torū Alexandrinū sine recusatione occurrant. eo studiosius q̄ illos altis
 impator honoribus donandos p̄mittit. & n̄t p̄mos palaciū suū int̄ eē. consiliū. tantū
 si hanc concionatricē temerariā suis assertiomb; sup̄atā reddidit. & hunc impatori
 optatum reportauerint. triūphū. q̄tenus blasphemias quas diis magnis inrogauit
 in suū caput refusas agnoscat. q̄ rationis ordo exigit. ut p̄mū ar te oratoria q̄ se
 iactant at tollit reuincat. post modū ū si diis immolare detrectat. penali crucia
 tu intereat. Paruit nuntius regis mandatis. & expletis impator sacrilegis officiis.
 uirginē iubet cōphendi & ad palaciū duci. quā blando p̄mū sermone cepit affari.
 N om̄ inq̄ens tuū puella aut gen̄. & q̄s in studiis libalib; magistros habuisti penit̄
 ignoro. s; speciosa facies & decora te alto sanguine p̄testatur. & loquendi pericia
 in laudē refundet̄ magistrorū. n̄ in hoc uno oberrasses. q̄d diis omnipotentib;
 derogando contumeliosa p̄sistis.

RESPONDENS puella. dixit tyranno. Sinom̄ queris ~~latebra~~ dico. coſti
 quondā regis filia. libaliū n̄ ignobiles doctores quantū ad inanē mun
 di gl̄iā habui. de q̄bus q̄a nichil in q̄d eēt conducibile ad beatā uitā contu
 lerunt. tota hęc eorū memoria ſileſcat. Poſt quā enī in ſanctioris uitę lux emicu
 it. mox tenebroſa erraticę doctrine deſerui. Audiu enī beatā uocē euangeliū dñi
 mei ihu xpi. cui me ſponſa & ancillā fedē ſtabili deuoui. cui numine inſpiratus
 multo antetēpore ex uoce ipſius propheta clamat dicens. Perdā ſapientiā ſapien
 tiū. & intellectū intelligentiū rep̄babo. Audierā illud p̄phicū. Os aut̄ n̄r in
 celo. om̄ia quęcumq; uoluit fecit. Simulachra gentiū argenti & aurū. opa ma
 niū hominū. Os habent & n̄ loquentur. & cetera uſq; q̄ confidunt in eis. Et
 alibi. Om̄s dñi gentiū demonia. Alioquin tu q̄ manu hominis formatos om̄ipo
 tentes deos aſſeris. quos corpore p̄ſtrato & uultu humili adoras. poſtquā me de
 cultura eorū ſuades. certū potentię ſuę exp̄m̄tū. oſtendē debes. Dū enī ſcultura
 artificis expoliti aut arte mechanica exerea maſſa in hominē formant̄. aut in
 ligno & lapide uelut uigentiā m̄bra in ſculpunt̄. reſtat ut ora loquantur. ocelli
 uideant. aures audiant. manus palpent. & cetera officiū naturale q̄d ſimulant
 p̄agare. Sin aut̄. uana plane religio. immo inſania. ē. talib; diuinę potentię ho
 norē aſcribi. q̄ nec cultorib; ſuis beneficia ulla p̄ſtare. nec offenſi ſe uindicare
 poſſunt. certe q̄ nec ſe. eē. ſciunt. dū materia inſenſibilis. quęcumq; ei ſimilitudinē
 inſerēris. nec forme gaudet intore. nec uilē monſtruoſę rei imaginē exoret. q̄
 potius canto. ē. illis in tēplo marmoreo ſedē habē. quanto in immundis cloacis
 iacēt. O q̄ deos uenerabiles. q̄b; nec honor. impenſus beniuolentiā. nec contēp
 tus parit offenſionē. O felices talium hominum cultores. q̄b; inuocati in neceſſitate

✠ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀθλήσει τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρ-
τυρος αἰκατερίνης.

Η μάρτυς αἰκατερίνη, ἀνέκοιτο ἀφ' ὧν ἀνδρείας· θυ-
γάτηρ βασιλείου τῆς πόσεως· πλουσίου καὶ ἐν δόξῳ·
ἐμορφώσατο· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐκείνη ἀρχοῦσα, ἔμαθον
ἐλληνικὰ γράμματα, καὶ ἀνέκοιτο σοφίᾳ λαοῦσα
καὶ γλώσσᾳ· πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν· ὥστε τὸ λείον
λέγουσι τῇ τοῖς εἰδώλοις· παρ' αὐτῶν ἐλλείπον· καὶ
ὁρῶνται αὐτὰ ζωοποιεῖν· ἐλυσεν ἡ θύη· καὶ αὐ-
τὴν ἔβρεξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἐβόηον, καὶ ἐφιλο-
μένη σὲν αὐτῶν· εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι διατί ἄν καὶ ἐλπί-
θῃ ζωοῦνται, καὶ προσκυρῆσαι εἰδώλοις ἀνέχουσιν·
ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμωρήσαντο ἰσχυρῶς·
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐβόηον βασιλεῦσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν·
καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι διαμάρτηται· ὡς τὴν αἰκατερίνην·
καὶ πείσαντες αὐτήν· ὅτι γὰρ μηδὲν ἔσθ' αὐτῇ, πάντας
ἡμᾶς καταλύσῃ πυρὶ· ἐκείνοι δὲ ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐμικρήθησαν,
ἐκαστὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔκρινον· ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἑαυτῶν.



Plate 7 – Menologium Basilianum, Vaticano BAV Vat. gr. 1613, p. 207
(from Il menologio di Basilio II [cod. vaticano greco 1613])

APPENDIX I

Greek Manuscripts of Katherine's Passion

To the Greek manuscripts used by Viteau, cited by Bronzini and particularly by Peri, I can add the following:¹

BHG 30²

El Escorial, R.II.7 (M.27), s. xii, fol. 75v-87v (text B).

El Escorial, Q.IV.32 (M.580), s. xi, fol. 132v-140v (text A).

Oxford, Bodleian Clarke 43, s. xii.

Oxford, Bodleian Holkham gr. 89.III, s. xiv-xv, fol. 241v-252 (text B2?).

Oxford, Bodleian Holkham gr. 89.IV, s. xi, fol. 93v-108 (text B).

Venice, Marc. II.151, s. xiv, fol. 6v-21.

Venice, Marc. VII.31, s. xv, fol. 5v-69v.

Paris BN gr. 1468, s. xi (used to contain the text).

Sinai gr. 519, s. xi.

Sinai gr. 531, fol. 72v-91r.

BHG 31

Athos, Lavra, Ms 426 (Δ 50), 1039, fol. 300r-308v.

Istanbul, Holy Trinity, Ms. 99, fol. 167-177.

Moskva, Hist. Museum Library of the Synod, Ms. 26 (Vlad. 384), fol. 93v-101v.

Sinai Gr. 497, s. x-xi.

Sinai Gr. 526, s. x.

BHG 32³

Athos, Dochiariou, Ms. 73, fol. 266v-277v.

Göteborg, UB, Ms. gr. 4, fol. 119v-129.

Sinai gr. 534, fol. 7-25.

Sinai gr. 976, fol. 304-319v, s. xvi (also BHG 30).

Sinai gr. 1685, fol. 85-95 (begins like BHG 32, ends like BHG 31).

¹ Viteau, *Les Passions*, p. 3, 24, 41; Bronzini, 'La leggenda', 261 n. 10; Peri, 'ΒΙΡΤΙΛΙΟΣ', 7 n. 3 & 8. The manuscripts listed here I have found in Ehrhard, *Überlieferung, passim*, and the card-catalogue at the 'Section Grecque' of the IRHT in Paris. I have been unable to identify which version is contained in Venice Marc. 143, s. xiii, fol. 293 (only).

² It is possible that some of these texts are either BHG 30 or 30a.

³ For a listing of the manuscripts containing the whole and second part of November see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2, p. 416-436 & 440-450. There is also an excerpt of Symeon's Menologium in Jerusalem, St. Sabas, Ms. 420, fol. 53-62v.

BHG 32a

G. Metallinos in Πανηγυρικός τόμος επί τῇ 1400ῃ ἀμφιετηρίδι τῆς ἱ. μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ (Athens, 1970), 15-25.

BHG 32b:⁴

Istanbul, Holy Trinity, Ms. 99, fol. 177-194.

Synaxarium:⁵

Athens, National Library, Ms. 2108, fol. 70.

Megalynaria in Sanctam Aecaterinam:

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. gr. app. II, 151, fol. 1-6v.

⁴ Edited: Γ.Δ. Μεταλλινού, 'Ἀναστασίου πρωτασηκρήτις ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Αἰκατερίνην', *Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 54 (1972), ii-iii, 237-74, on the basis of three manuscripts, two from the eleventh and one from the fourteenth century. The editor suggests a date of composition between the eighth and the tenth centuries. The emperor Anastasios VI, the only possible candidate during this period, had been protoasekretis before he was proclaimed emperor in 713, see *PBE* no. 236.

⁵ This and the following categories are taken from the card-catalogue of the IHRT. I have not found anything that corresponds with them in the BHG.

APPENDIX II

1. Passio Sancte Katerine Virginis (BHL 1658) – p. 349
2. Passio Sancte Ecaterinae Virginis (BHL 1662) – p. 352
3. Passio Beatae Catherinae Virginis (BHL 1657) – p. 356

runt. et sicut viri ninivite qui ad predicationem ione penitentiam egerunt iudicaturi sunt eos qui per predicationem domini noluerunt credere. ita quoque et isti exorciste iudicaturi sunt eos qui dixerunt dominum in belzebub principe demoniorum eicere demonia. non potestate ut dictum est sed comparatione. Vel certe filios eorum discipulos vult intellegere. qui ex eodem populo erant quibus potestatem dederant super omnem virtutem inimici calcandi dicens: *In nomine meo demonia eicite. omnes curate. gratis accepistis. gratis date.*

Pag. 570 — PASSIO SANCTE CATERINE
VIRGINIS.

Temporibus maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno tricesimo quinto regni eius erat multa insania idolorum colentes. Et sedens pro tribunali in civitate alexandrinorum. posuit preceptum ubique sacrificare diis. et misit epistolam habentem hanc figuram. Omnes convenite (ut) agnoscat is preceptum quod positum est a nobis. Si quis non obdierit huic nostre iussioni statim faciam eum corruere gladio et diversis suppliciis. Missis vero literis ab imperatore convenit multitudo copiosa; que sub imperio eius erat constituta. Et cum venisset imperator maxentius sedens altera die pro tribunali; precepit preconibus hacclamare. ut omnes convenirent ad templum ydolorum. Et divites secum deferrent tauros in sacrificia deorum. pauperes vero saltem viles volucres. Imperator vero optulit in sacrificium tauros centum XXXta. Similiter et principes illustres. et magistri militum. prefecti. et tribuni offerebant tauros. pauperes vero diversa volatilia. ita ut pre multitudine quadrupedum. vel volucrum non possent simul esse omnes in templo. aut in civitate. Quin etiam et magna vociferatione inrationabilium animalium. movebatur locus et civitas et chori una canentibus tybiis et plaudentibus manibus; etiam lux obtenebrabatur. et terra coinquinabatur ex effusione inrationabilium sanguinum. et tantorum perditorum hominum in multo errore. Tunc mulier quedam religiosa existens unica filia cuiusdam regis in predicta civitate alexandrinorum post mortem patris eius remansit sola in palatio cum suis parentibus et cum sua substantia. Puerorum autem eius

et ancillarum erat innumera multitudo. et vocabatur ecaterina. Hec didicerat librum virgilii et omeri. nec non et scolapii. et galieni. aristotelis. platonis et philistionis. eusebii. yannes et manbres. dionisii sibille. nichromantie rationem etiam rethorum. et omnis narratio septuaginta duarum linguarum volvebatur in ore eius. Erat enim hec beata annorum decem et octo. et audiens vocem inrationabilium pecudum. et multitudinem populorum plorantem. et non audentes dicere quia christiani sumus. propter timorem imperatoris. Gentes vero currentes ad choros et canentes tibias in sacrificium. beatissima ecaterina accipiens secum pueros introivit in templum gentilium ubi erat imperator. et infinita multitudo sacrificans. Erat enim inreprehensibilis forma preminens ultra omnes mulieres cum florida specie sicut excelsa cypressus. portans matutinum rorem. que circa omnia assistit decorata super omnes arbores. sic et beata cum precedente gratia domini radiabat. Cum beata ecaterina faciens signaculum christi introivit in templum. et cum ingressa fuisset iam invenit imperatorem sacrificantem. Milites autem nuntiaverunt hec imperatori. et precepit eam introire in suam presentiam. Et stans dixit imperatori. Robustam et fuco verborum plenam dictionem suscipiens. ita fucatum quoddam sublime verborum quod loquar ad te in sublimi dictione. multiplex variatum. nutu radiantium. sessile inclite conexum. oppinatum vexiliter versutum. Ex laqueariis luminum robuste circumopertum. et ut variatum. per triangulo sculpsule de imputribilibus lignis susipientibus eculeum instrumentum omnia mandens ducentium. et reducentium. tribulentur. Et quid mihi ut multa dicam? prohibeam omnem rethoricam dictionem. et omnes excelsi sermones virgilii. edictione septuaginta duarum linguarum cum sola greca lingua dicam cursus huius dictionis. Quare incassum congregasti multitudinem hanc perdens anima eorum in stultitia et errore ydolorum. Nunc ergo resipisce a stultitia mentis evidentius. audi et cognosce qui fecit spatium huius mundi. cum archano verbo. et cognosce quia ipse est deus eternus. qui videns mundum perditum. misit unigenitum filium suum ihesum christum et liberavit per crucem suam. genus humanum de perditione necis. Ipse est creator et salvator omnium rerum cui de-

cet honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Tunc stupefactus imperator non valens respondere ei. dixit ad eam. Dimitte nos ho mulier offerre sacrificium. ut post hec plane sciamus de te. Et cum finisset coinquinatum sacrificium precepit militibus ut comprehenderent beatam ecaterinam. et ducerent eam ad palatium. Videbat enim imperator adstantem eam splendida facie. et iniebat adversus eam. forma enim eius erat quasi angeli. et facies eius fulgebat per gratiam dei. et multitudo populi stupebat in visione illius. Et veniens in palatium. dixit ad eam imperator. O figura solis. annuntia nobis quis es tu? et quod est nomen tuum. et que sunt verba tua? Beata ecaterina dixit ei. Non me cognoscis imperator. ego sum de prima et splendida progenie filia costis regis et vocor ecaterina. Et didici omnem dictionem septuaginta duarum linguarum. et quid mihi ut multa dicam? Dereliqui omnia vana huius sapientie. et secuta sum dominum meum ihesum christum. ipsiusque nomini disponsata qui dixit perdam sapientiam sapientum. et prudentiam intellegentium reprobabo. Dicit ad eos imperator. Puto ergo quia de terra tu non es nata sed intellectualis visio. offeres te nobis. Dixit ei beata ecaterina. Robuste affatus est imperator. dii autem tui nichil valent. ego autem amodo existo ancilla domini mei ihesu christi. Disputemus ego et tu. et ostendam tibi inenarrabilem. et gloriosam extensionem sancte crucis septemtrionalis arma decenter fulgens smaracdo ex magna virtute domini mei ihesu christi. Errorem autem ydolorum tuorum omnino meditaris. ostendam tibi gladium multi glorie dictionem. Tunc stupefactus imperator dixit. Ego non possum respondere tibi. venient autem rethores et ceteri sapientes. ut confundant te cum magna confusione. et sic credas diis. Hec dicens imperator scripsit epistolam habens hanc figuram. Imperator maxentius toto orbi et civitatibus salutem. Omnes phylosophus et rethores festinis gressibus venite ad nos. quia mulier plena acumine totius scientie terimaginarium sermonem proposuit nobis. Quod si feceritis dabo vobis radiferos honores. cum plurimis exeniis. Missis epistolis ab imperatore venerunt. vero ad eum rethores numero quinquaginta. et dixit ad eos imperator. sicut obscurus sermo in vobis et fuco plenum dicite michi. Est enim dictionalis mu-

lier apud nos gloriosa. et fuco plena scriptura calamo rethorico sursum imaginaria. et robuste docta. Sicut ergo sapientissimus sermo in vobis et potestis contrastare aut contradicere ei. dabo vobis quicquit a me postulaveritis. Primus rethor dixit. Veniat mulier huc. et ego vincam eam cum prima scultura omeri. Que est enim mulier in rethorica arte que possit stare ante faciem nostram? Si non terreo eam cum prima mea dictione sacrificia caput meum. Audiens hec imperator gavisus est valde. et iussit assistere beatam ecaterinam ante tribunal. congregans omnem multitudinem civitatis. et philosophos contra eam. His autem actis angelus autem domini apparuit beate ecaterine dicens. Noli timere ancilla dei. ecce addet deus tibi sapientiam et superabis quinquaginta rethores et salvi fient predicti rethores. et multi credent pro te in nomine domini nostri ihesu christi. Post hec coronam (accipies) a domino. et regnabis in eternum. Ego enim sum michael arcangelus; testamenti domini; et missus sum evangelizare hec tibi. ut replearis magno gaudio. Et hec dicens cessavit angelus a beata. Dicit ei primus rethor. Tu qui habes prima dictionem rethoris robuste respondendi; pone mentem tuam et diligenter asculata. Et iterum congregata est multitudo civita(t)i)s. et omnes milites in contemplatione eius. Stans autem beata ecaterina. faciens autem signum christi; subridens stabat. et aperiens os suum dixit. Ex aquoso elemento consistunt maria fucate robuste. Et multum letantes repetunt. et congregantur in invio pelago hoc est maximum omeri. Ait enim aristotiles splendidissimus rethor. Ita evidenter affero erupata in maxima visione solantem acerrime solatum in calcabilibus voraginum; subterraneum. et in tractum letanter reptant in plenitudine draconis. Secundum capitulum est insultatoris virgilii. sed et radialus scilicet dionisius calcabiles semitas rethorum sciens affatus est dicens. Robuste liquido inpudenter et in conpendiosa. et fundo dictione subtiliter variatum. invisibiles directiones plane discurrunt impalpabilis semita. Igitur ubique venerabilis scolapius sagacissimus differtur sicut ubique interpretata equaliter circummunita in imaginaria pulchritudine in imaginis robuste genuflectens deserviunt armatura gloriosissimi signi. set et philistion cum platone qualis amabilis ars est rethorum designan-

tes sculpturam discipline describentes in haere. calabilem gloriam dixerunt... *Cetera desunt.*

Pag. 578.

Predixerat enim sic sanctus hieremias propheta ex persona domini. *Prevaricatione prevaricata est in me domus iuda. ait dominus. Negaverunt me. et dixerunt non est ipse.* Hoc etiam nunc usque iudei de christo dicunt. *non est ipse* expectantes alium qui est antichristus. Et esaïas. *Non est species ei neque decor. Et vidimus eum et non erat aspectus. et desideravimus eum despectum. et novissimum virorum virum dolorum; et scientem ferre infirmitatem. et quasi absconditus vultus eius et dispectus. unde nec reputavimus eum.* Quibus verbis incredulitatem iudeorum significat. a quibus visus est christus non habere speciem neque decorem. unde nec putatus est esse deus. Quem tamen quia non essent recepturi neque cognituri. idem ysaias adprobat dicens, *Audite celi et auribus percipe terra. quia dominus locutus est. Filios enutrivit et exaltavi; ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum. et asinus presepe domini sui. israel autem me non cognovit. populus meus. me non intellexit.* Et iterum. *Auditionem audietis; et non intelligitis. et cernentes videbitis et non sciatis. Incrassatum est enim cor populi huius.* Unde et ezechiel. *Factus est sermo domini ad me dicens. Fili hominis in medio domus exasperans tu habitas. qui oculos habent ad videndum et non vident. et aures ad audiendum. et non audiunt.* sic enim excecati sunt ut salvatorem nec agnoscerent nec susciperent. Et cuius dies abraam vidit et letatus est. et cuius adventum prophete magno cum desiderio expectaverunt. isti et viderunt et non agnoverunt. Insuper et blasphemaverunt clamantes; *non habemus regem nisi cesarem.* et cetera que secuntur. Huius populi duritia sic non mutatur. quomodo nec ethyopis color; aut pardi varietas. hieremia testante. Item ita legitur in psalmo secundo. *Quare fremuerunt gentes.* idest romani; *et populi meditati sunt inania* hoc est iudei. *Astiterunt reges terre* hoc est herodes et pylatus. *et principes convenerunt in unum* scilicet et principes sacerdotum et seniores iudeorum *adversus dominum et adversus christum eius.* Et iterum ex eiusdem

domini persona in psalmo. *Circumdederunt me canes multi. concilium malignantium obsedit me.* Canum autem nomen in osee etiam per prophetam alterum constitutum. In esaia enim scriptum est. *Omnes ceci canes. nescientes latrare.* Canum enim moris est. ut ait noster hylarius; pastorem alludere. gregem nosse. insidiantes feras persequi. At vero isti ceci canes. pastorem suum non videntes; officium non intellegentes. latrones (latratus) suos a feris ad gregem a furibus ad dominum retorserrunt. Unde et alius propheta de his ita dicit; *facti sunt michi in sagiptam reciprocam.* Per zachariam ita ipse prenuntiavit. *Si bonum est inquit in conspectu vestro; date mercedem meam XXX argenteos. Et dixit dominus ad me. Proice illud ad statuarium; de quorum pretium adpretiatus sum ab eis.* Haec enim nota omnibus causa est. Iudas enim penitentia motus. pecuniam reportavit et proiecit in templo. et habiit et laqueo se suspendit. Ut impleretur quod dixerat esaïas. *testis falsus non erit impunitus. pro eo quod vendidit argento iustum.* Quam pecuniam bene dominus mercedem suam dixit. Multa enim miracula apud eos fecit reddens vitam mortuis. lucem cecis. auditum surdis. Pro quibus omnibus iudei nefanda extimatione morte XXX argenteorum mercede illis restituerunt. Iterum etiam in psalmis commemoravit in se impletum dicens. *Qui edebat panes mecum. ampliavit adversum me supplantationem.* Et iterum. *Tu vero homo unanimis dux meus et notus meus qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cybos.* De ipso autem iuda proditore hieremias prescius ita ante predixerat. *Peccatum enim iude scriptum est stilo ferreo in ungue adamantino.* Quod sive ad iudam. sive ad iudeos. non incongrue convenit; qui sic peccaverunt in christo. ut non sit peccatum eorum atramento conscriptum. quod deleri forsitan potest. Sed stilo ferreo in ungue adamantino exaratum; idest quod deleri non possit pre duritia cordis eorum; nisi crediderunt. Esaïas enim dicit; *oblatus est quia ipse voluit.* Et infra. *pro eo quod tradidit in morte animam suam; videbit semen longevum. et voluntas domini in manu eius dirigetur.* Et ipse per hieremiam prophetam sic loquitur. *Reliqui domum meam; dimisi hereditatem meam; tradidi dilectam animam meam in manu inimicorum; hoc est in manus iudeorum qui eum interfecerunt.*

tiorem; indignatus est custodibus. dicens quod contemptus esset. et mutatis optionibus; alio uno mense iussit eam secundum pristinam sententiam custodiri. ita ut anulo suo iuberet claustra signari. volens eam in ipsa clausura deficere. Cumque ut diximus divino per sodalem martyram cibo relecta pinguior fieret; iussit eam in navi imponi. et cum multis aliis quos leges iure iam punierant; pelagi fluctibus demergi. Erant enim alii homicide. alii pro adulterio. alii pro diversis sacrilegiis damnati. Inter quos omnes unus erat christianus nomine euticianus. cui predia sublata paterna sunt; cum dives esset. Hic innocentissimae naturae etiam aristotelicos superavit. Nam sublati sibi omnibus facultatibus tacuit. nichil cogitans. nichilque metuens. nisi hoc ne facultates ac divitias fidei perderet. Quotiescunque denique fuisset auditus; quotiens interrogatus; nichil aliud dicebat. christum michi non tollitis; etiam si caput abstuleritis. Impositis ergo ad centum viginti hominibus in navi; atque in altum perductis ubi furebat pelagus ut praeceptum est eis; illic perfoderunt navem. et ibi eos reliquerunt. Tunc apparuit ibi sancta martyr theodote. et super ipsam plagam navis considens; navem a periculo sublevavit. Hortabatur autem anastasia; ut omnes qui in navi erant domino crederent. et ostendebat eis sanctum euticianum martyr theodote. dicens eum collegam martyrum. Tunc anastasia osculari caepit genua eius dicens. da orationem et baptizentur universi. Quique cum orasset exorante sancta anastasia; universi crediderunt et uno die et una nocte in medio pelago ita fuerunt ut putarent se in terra esse. sine metu. sine estu. sine fluctuatione. Tertia vero die devoluti sunt ad insulas quas palmarias vocant. in quibus episcopi et presbyteri et multi religiosi viri temporibus diversis fuerant relegati exilio. et descendentes cum ymnis et psalmis suscepti sunt. Piscatores autem per diversa litora missi sunt tertia die; ut renuntiarent prefecto ubi eos mortuos procellae iactassent. Et nuntiaverunt omnes christianos factos ad palmarias insulas devenisse illesos. atque cum iis qui illic deportati habebantur die noctuque in dei laudibus permanere. Tunc misit lucius preses; et universos inde deponens. posuit munera ante oculos eorum et gladios evaginatos dicens. qui voluerit sacrificare ditabitur et honorabi-

tur. qui recusaverit; aut decollabitur aut igni cremabitur. Atque hoc ordine cum essent amplius quam ducenti viri. et septuaginta femine; exceptis parvulis; ne unus quidem potuit ad vitae praesentis et sacrificii revocari consensum. Cumque omnes variis interfectionibus martyrium celebrassent; anastasia per manus et pedes extensa; et ligata ad palos fixos; circa media eius ignis accensus est. In qua passione orans et benedicens dominum ihesum christum; emisit spiritum. Tunc apollonia christiana matrona per matronam prefecti meruit corpus eius tollere. Quod accipiens exosculatur. et aromatibus condiens; atque dignis linteaminibus obvolvens; intra viridarium domus suae ut decuit martyram sepelivit. atque expensa non parva pecunia; basilicam ubi eam sepelierat fabricavit. Passa est autem sancta anastasia octavo Kalendas ianuarias. et condita in venerando tumulo. Deposita autem est postea quam basilica fabricata est in domo apolloniae; septimo idus septembris. in eadem basilica. in qua operatur beneficia sua dominus ad laudem nominis sui; usque in finem saeculi. Amen.

Pag. 373 — PASSIO SANCTE ECATERINAE
VIRGINIS.

Constantinus sacratissimus et christianissimus imperator cum post mortem constantii patris in galliis et britannia imperare caepisset; et maximianus cognomento galerius cum filio maximino caesare in orientis partibus pariter imperaret; romae maxentius maximiani herculii filius tyrannide assumpta regnabat. Sed postquam divinae virtutis auxilio a constantino in congressione pontis molvii idem tyrannus summersus est; et romanae urbis imperium prefatus augustus obtinuit; maximianus galerii filius constantini gloriae invidens; apud egyptum maximeque apud alexandriam adversus christianos persecutione commota; omnium scelerum et flagitiorum auctor imperii sibi nomen arripiens. in christianos saevire modis omnibus caepit. His temporibus erat in eadem civitate alexandria quaedam puella nobilissimi generis orta familia. decem et octo aetatis gerens annos. nomine ecaterina. prestanti forma. specie pulchra. Ab ipsis infantiae rudimentis omnium fere mundanarum ac liberalium artium studiis studiosius erudita. Quodque

his maius omnibus erat ihesu christi domini notitiam gerens; in eo solo spem suam. in eo fiduciam totam amoremque posuerat. Haec igitur omnibus idolatriis omnibusque daemonum nefariis cultibus imperatorio iussu predictam cernens deditam civitatem; ingemiscebat cotidie et plorabat. et dominum ut tanto sceleri quandoque secundum multitudinem misericordiarum suarum finem dignaretur imponere; instantissimis precibus flagitabat. Quadam igitur precipue festivitatis paganorum die; dum maximinus universo se civitatis populo comitante daemonum sacrificiis et ritibus nefandis de more devotus insisteret; tanta constantia divina gratia mentem eius accendit; ut immemor feminei pudoris ac fragilitatis; oblita etiam puellaris aetatis; nil verita imperatorem adierit. et ut erat oratorum ac philosophorum studiis vehementer accensa; cur tantus ac talis vir tantis ac talibus flagitiorum illecebris deserviret; constanter et libere eum palam omnibus redarguere caeperit. Ad quae imperator mirans obstupuit. sed religionibus et ceremoniis vanis intentus; eam licentius audiendam apparitoribus suis ad palatium duci; et diligentius custodiri precepit. Quo cum post sacrificia consummata rediisset; suo eam conspectui iubet protinus exhiberi. Quam talibus est aggressus. Quoniam nobilissimo te genere ortam ecaterina comperimus; et totius pulchritudinis eloquentiae ac honestatis fulgore comptam didicimus; quod unum tibi deesse videmus; non mirari et non dolere non possumus. scilicet quod deos per quos haec omnia possidere cognosceris non solum non veneris et colas; verum etiam infamare et blasphemare non metuens ad eorum dedecus christianorum religionem eorum ceremoniis praeferas. Sed de christianorum deo nunc nichil ad nos. Nostros autem deos quos totus orbis romanus adorat; et quos ex poeticis et philosophicis documentis omnipotentissimos esse constat; non sufficimus mirari quare non omni studio excolas. presertim cum sis quantum apparet universis eorum dogmatibus sufficienter instructa. Ad haec ecaterina vivificae crucis vexillo munita; si posses inquit o imperator audire quod verum est; possem satis ostendere quod dii vestri quos dicitis non dii sed turpes nefandi et miseri homines fuerint. Christianorum autem deus omnipotens omniumque rerum creator et conditor sit. Et

T. III.

ipsi vos iudicate si iustum est creatorem universorum relinquere; et manufactis simulacris honorem divinitatis ascribere. Imperator ait. Videmus quidem te in philosophia et eloquentia tua presumere. sed non desunt etiam nobis qui possint tuis argumentationibus obviare. Tunc iussu imperatoris ingressi sunt in eius presentiam viri totius saecularis sapientiae nube caecati. caeperuntque cum ea diutius altercari. Sed quoniam sapientia saeculi stultitia est ad sapientiam dei; ita eos sancta virgo suis propositionibus et conclusionibus superavit; ut neque quid quererent neque quid responderent possent aliquatenus invenire. Tunc imperator verecundia simul et furore commotus; precepit cos omnes vivos flammis absumi. Cumque predicti philosophi ad supplicium ducerentur; accesserunt ad virginem christi. et procidentes ad pedes eius orabant; ut quoniam sententiam mortis susceperant; fide eos dei veri dignaretur instruere. quatinus toto corde de transactis erroribus poenitentes; et in eum credentes; ad eius gratiam ipsius precibus pertingere mererentur. Quibus sancta virgo auditis gratias agens deo; et fide illos et religione divina pro tempore instruens; constanter eos agere et nil trepidare commonuit. quandoquidem per momentaneam mortem vitam percipere mererentur aeternam. Ita illi signaculo sanctae crucis se munientes; et in fide et confessione domini perdurantes; in ignem missi sunt septimo decimo kalendas decembris. viri numero quinquaginta. Cumque requisiti a fidelibus essent ut colligerentur; ita omnes illesi reperti sunt; ut neque capillus eorum aliquatenus fuisset adustus. Ad quod miraculum plurimi gentilium crediderunt in dominum. eosque cum omni honore et diligentia sepelierunt.

Post haec tyrannus iussit iterum sanctam virginem sibi praesentari. cui et dixit. Ut quid puella vecors tantam pulchritudinem tantamque sapientiam tuam nescio quibus prestigiis irretita perdere gestis? redi ad mentem tuam; et flectere monitis nostris. quoniam si hoc feceris; non qualicumque te honore sublimare; sed nostro utique lateri te coniungere cogitamus. Ecaterina respondit. Stulta te imperator et inepta cogitatio vexat. dum putas me immortalem sponsum posse relinquere; et ad te qui paulo post vermis et cinis futurus es meos libitus inclinare. Unde quod vis fac. immobilis enim

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nobis et inconvulsa sententia constat. Maximianus dixit. Non multis utaris ambagibus. immo potius relictis omnibus syllogismis et versutiis tuis de quibus presumis; deorum sacrificiis subdere. quatinus per hoc et illorum gratiam; et nostram benivolentiam valeas optinere. Ecaterina respondit. Tu potius tuas ambages relinque. et aut veri dei notitiam me docentem excipe; aut quam vis in me sententiam iaculare. In dei enim mei virtute confidens; neque te neque tua tormenta possum metuere. Tunc imperator conversus ad suos; probemus ait constantiam pessimae huius. Et protinus iussit eam expoliari. et flagellis diutius verberari. demum vero in carcerem per dies duodecim trudi. hac videlicet condicione proposita; ut si post duodecim dies sacrificare contemneret; sententiam protinus capitalem subiret. Interea uxor imperatoris cognitis omnibus quae circa christi famulam gesta fuerant; divino accensa desiderio videre eam et alloqui ardentius cupiebat. Vocans itaque ad se quendam centurionem nomine porphirium; intimavit ei ex integro omne desiderium suum. eumque ut se clam nocte proxima ad eam perduceret in custodiam rogat. Quo facto; videns eam regina corruit ad pedes eius. et caepit eam exposcere ut divinae illi fidei sacramenta exponeret. ac pro ipsius facinoribus dei sui misericordiam exoraret. Quibus ut cupierat omnibus impetratis; et usque ad medium noctis sermone protracto; credidit regina in dominum una cum porphirio et ducentis militibus suis. et ita commendantes se Beatae ecaterinae; reversi sunt ipsa hora ad palatium. precipientes custodibus ut nemini hoc divulgarent; Virgo autem domini cum per duodecim dies haberetur inclusa; neque aliquis aliquid ei ministrare presumeret; angelica visitatione cotidie consolabatur. videbat etiam niveam ad se columbam introire; et quaeque erant necessaria exhibere. Cum autem duodecima dies qua producenda erat iustaret; et nocte ipsa in vigiliis perstans constantiam sibi et perseverantiam a domino precibus lacrimosis exposceret; apparuit ei dominus dicens. Ne timeas ecaterina neque paveas. ego creator et redemptor tuus sum pro cuius haec amore sustines. et quia multi iam per te crediderunt in me et adhuc amplius credituri sunt; confortare et age viriliter. quoniam ego tecum sum usque in finem. His sancta virgo supra modum

confortata et roborata faminibus; cepit laudare et benedicere dominum. parata pro eius nomine universa perferre. Illuxerat duodecima dies. cum imperator posito solio eam sibi presentari precepit. eamque iterum iterumque nunc blanditiis et delementis verborum; nunc minis et terroribus tormentorum ad sacrificia cogere nitebatur. sed cum nichil se proficere cerneret; eamque magis magisque corroborari videret. iratus iussit fieri rotas quattuor. et in singulis rotis acutissimos clavos infigi. eamque iuxta sedere. ut visu tantum horribili territa cederet. Quod cum factum fuisset; misit dominus angelum suum et eripuit eam de medio paenarum. Rotae autem devolutae nonnullos infidelium peremerunt. Videntes autem populi tanta mirabilia in christi virgine celebrata; multi ex eis conversi crediderunt in dominum. Turbatus imperator in talibus; non inquit ultra est consilium ad nos eam posse converti. sed ne potius nos suis incantaminibus ad se convertat; ite quantocius. eamque ut optat gladio animadvertite. Quod prefata regina comperiens; eique superesse vel ad modicum dolens; virili animata robore fideique succensa calore. caepit luctuosis vocibus exclamare. et magistram fidei suae magnis clamoribus appellare. et cur sanctam et innocentem puellam necari iuberet; nil verita tyrannum in faciem obiurgare. Quibus clamoribus perculsus imperator; ac primo putans eam compassionis id gratia facere; postquam didicit eam sanctae virginis institutione ad fidem christi conversam; ultra modum furore et indignatione permotus; deque eius iam conversione desperans; iussit truncari mamillas eius. Cumque illam multo constantius christi nomen inclamare; eiusque auxilium flagitare conspiceret; acrius exacerbatus protinus eam iugulari precepit. Sicque in christi confessione perdurans; gladio percussa migravit ad dominum nono kalendas decembris. Cernens talia predictus porphirius; et iniquum ducens si quam ad fidem secutus fuerat non etiam sequeretur ad mortem; immo ad vitam per mortem; igne divino succensus; simul cum ducentis prefatis militibus adiit imperatorem et dixit. Hactenus o caesar vestrae militiae cingulum non usquequaque ignaviter gessimus. vobisque obsecundati in omnibus sumus. Nunc alium dominum alium imperatorem invenimus; cui militare modis omnibus

peroptamus. qui multo potiora te nobis insignia. multo prestantiora munimina. multo praetiosiora prestitit ornamenta. His caesar auditis valde tristatus est. et verens ne quid contra eum insidiarum subito oriretur; caepit eos pacificis et dulcissimis verbis ne talia facerent dehortari. Sed cum eos omnino firmos in fide christi et fundatos aspiceret; nichil morandum ratus; extra civitatem eos duci; omnesque pariter decollari precepit. octavo kalendas decembris.

Post haec beatam ecaterinam suis iussit obtutibus iterum sisti. eamque torvo vultu intuitus ita alloquitur. Adeo ne tua precordia pestifere iniquitatis veneno repleta sunt ecaterina; ut non consideres quot qualesque nequissimis tuis exemplis illecti cotidie pereant? Sed resipisce iam iamque infelix. ut vel nunc deorum subdere cerimoniis. ut vel sic placati propitii tibi esse dignentur. Beata ecaterina respondit. Si ego quos tu meis exemplis asseris perire; non pro certo scirem perpetuam illos per hoc vitam adquirere; nunquam profecto possem haec aliquatenus ferre. Resipiscere autem tu magis debueras de laqueis satanae. et non eos qui unum et verum deum adorant ad falsorum deorum provocare culturam. Ego denique ipsi uni et vero deo me in sacrificium offero. deorum vero tuorum propitiationem non solum non expeto; verum etiam abominor. et una cum ipsis pro nichilo computo. Age iam quod maligno animo insidet. meque nunquam tuis idolatriis consensuram; quibuslibet tormentis qualibet morte trucida. Noli me quasi puellam attendens velle quasi blandiendo decipere; quam christi dei mei sapientia fecit et verba pariter et verbera tua hactenus pro nichilo computare. Admiratus caesar super tanta responsionum constantia. stupensque quod nunquam amplius expertus fuerat tantum in femineo pectore robur; simul et erubescens superari posse se a puella; vix tandem aegre et invitus quodammodo sententiam in eam pronuntiat capitalem. Protinus igitur tyrannicae iussionis executores eam accipientes; duxerunt extra civitatem ad locum quo decollanda erat. Ubi multa se plangentium turba sancta virgo comitata perveniens; spatium a carnificibus orandi petiit et accepit. Expleta oratione cervicem tetendit. et iuxta quod tyrannus iusserat decollationis sententiam laetanter excepit. sicque

ad sponsi sui regis aeterni thalamum perenniter cum ea regnatura conscendit. Consummavit autem cursum certaminis sui beata ecaterina septimo kalendas decembris. et reconditum est corpus eius a fidelibus iuxta civitatem alexandriam; in loco optimo et condigno meritis eius. Ad laudem et gloriam dei omnipotentis; qui trinus et unus vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Pag. 379 — PASSIO SANCTI PETRI ALEXANDRINI EPISCOPI.

Si omnes mei corporis artus... ut eam nostro stilo cooperatricem habere mereamur. Alexandria igitur urbs... sperabat se vel ab achilla vel alexandro reconciliari. Sagacissimus igitur pontifex.... (pag. 394) Postquam igitur magnificus propugnator petrus nomine suo dignus per martyrii triumphum siderea regna penetravit ad eum qui dixit volo pater ut ubi ego sum et ministri mei sint mecum; pontificatus retinacula uti divinitus est intimatum achilla suscepit. Tunc arrius voti campos effectus caepit dolosis poenitentiae vocibus exclamare. miseremini homini peccatori. suscipite penitentem. Dumque id ipsum nunc per se nunc autem per eos quos summittere poterat frequentaret; tandem compassione animi devictus achillas suscepit eum. Quibus ita peractis isdem achillas non amplius quam quinque mensibus episcopatu administrato vitam exivit. Atque alexander vir admodum docti ingenii et ipsa iam canitie venerabilis ad regenda ecclesiae gubernacula pontifex est ordinatus. Misera mens humana. quae pro fallaci divinitate olim utpote a serpente pollicita ignorantiae tenebris mancipata est. Idem nanque alexander dominicae contestationis oblitus; pro nefas. arrium ad sacerdotii dignitatem promovit. O caeca oblivio. arbor quam divina securis per martyrem petrum absciderat ecce ad multorum ariditatem humerius crescit. Qui more solito sub scemate piscis vipera latens; non recedebat ab eodem venerabili sene eiusque bonitatem paulisper negotiabatur. Caepit interea sub figmento magisterii utpote hypocrita scripturae dogmata populo exponere. faciensque in ecclesia quarta et sexta feria congregationem quasi ad dei verbum audiendum; inter reliqua quae salubria esse videbantur venena sui pectoris

Eamus in nomine domini . Inredientes uero curiam principis benignissime suscepti sunt ab eo : Quibus ait princeps : O Petre si uera sunt quæ de^t te dixit Paulus : et quæ de te mihi promisit : carus et honoratus ab omnibus in palatio meo eris : Cui benigne respondit Paulus : O bone princeps credis me fallere te ? Omnia quæ de illo tibi dixi sine ambiguitate uera esse cognosces : Et ut pauca dicamus : ostende nobis 5 sepulchrum : in quo per multa tempora mortuus iacet filius tuus : Perducentes autem eos ad sepulchrum iuuenis : quod erat in uno angulo palatii miro opere sculptum : dicit Paulus coram uniuerso populo : O ciues inclyti state cum silentio : et uidebitis uirtutem domini nostri Iesu christi . Et tunc Petrus et Paulus flectentes genua sua in | oratione : cum lachrymis dixit Petrus : Iesu christe mortuorum resurectio : te 10 inuocantium consolatio : qui Lazarum quattriduanum et iam in monumento fætentem tua gloriosissima inuocatione resuscitasti : qui super undas maris ineffabili potentia ambulasti : qui de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quinque milia hominum satiasti : exaudi nos misericors et propicius inuocantes te et laudem tuo nomini dantes . Eleuantibus se Petro et Paulo ab oratione : dixit Paulus : Tollite lapidem a monu- 15 mento : ut uiuere uideamus : quem mortuum esse cognoscitis . Et aspicientes in sepulchro uidebant omnia ossa a se disiuncta . et nulla signa carnis habentia : Et facto sillentio : magna uoce dixit Petrus : O Iuuenis nimium dilecte præcipio tibi in nomine domini mei Iesu christi nazareni crucifixi : ut a morte resurgas : et uiuus exeas de sepulchro . Ad hanc uocem caro paulatim supra cœpit crescere : et ossa quæ erant 20 prius disiuncta ad priora membra formandum cœperunt coniungi : Et sic tandem subito pristinam ex integro accepit formam et priorem pulchritudinem et satis elegantio- rem . Et ita totus mirabiliter reformatus : uiuus coram omni populo exiit de sepulchro : et cum magno gaudio patri redditus est . Et sic mirabiliter totus populus immensis uocibus deum cœperunt benedicere : qui talia mirabilia inter eos operatus 25 est . Theophilus autem ne singulariter crederet : sed cum totis ciuibus : dixit Petro et Paulo : Quoniam mihi immensa beneficia fecit ineffabilis deus uester : et mihi sanum et in columem reddidistis filium meum : audite quid uolo : Egredimini si placet : a ciuitate ista O Petre et Paule : et monete uniuersum populum comitatus mei : ut in Iesum credant : et a cultura dæmonum recedant . Ego uero agam in ciuitate : ut una 30 mecum totus populus in dominum credant : et nostris monitis obedian- t . Exeuntes uero apostoli de ciuitate Antiochia hac fiducia totum populum deo acquirebant : et unda baptismatis perfundebant . Theophilus simi || liter in ciuitate apostolos laudibus extollebat et populum in quantum poterat suadebat : ut omnes simul deo crederent . Quid multa ? ad laudem apostolorum coronantur plateæ omnes paliis pretiosis . et 35 cortinis sericiis . et tapetis ægypti aliisque diuersis mirabilibus ornamentis . Et sic Theophilus cum uniuerso populo Antiochie reducant apostolos in ciuitatem cum gaudio et immensa læticia . Baptizatus est autem princeps Theophilus et totus populus Antiochiæ ciuitatis prædicatione^t et miraculis apostolorum Petri et Pauli . Princeps autem Theophilus cum omni populo magnam fabricauerunt ecclesiam : et miro opere 40 ornauerunt ad laudem dei et ad honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli : Clericis autem : ut decebat : ibidem ordinatis consilio apostolorum factum est : ut per totam illam prouinciam templa destruerentur . ecclesiæ ædificarentur : Quod breui tempore diuina uoluntate satis bene factum est . Paucis autem euolutis diebus totus clerus cum populo et principe beatum Petrum summum pontificem elegerunt : et magno desyde- 45 rio et nimio gaudio et immensa reuerentia in Cathedram patriarchatus deuotissime in magna ecclesia quam fecerant sublimauerunt : ipso adiuuante : cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum Amen .

PASSIO BEATAE CATHERINAE VIRGINIS .

Temporibus Maxentii impiissimi imperatoris anno quinto imperii eius erat multa 50 insania idolorum . Et sedens Imperator pro tribunali in ciuitate alexandrinorum posuit præceptum : ubique sacrificari diis : et huiusmodi scripsit epistolam : Omnes conuenite ad nostram præsentiam : ut cognoscatis præceptum : quod positum est a nobis Si quis uero obedierit huic nostræ iussioni : habebit gratiam nostram : qui uero non

obedierit : statim eum faciam gladio et diuer | sis penis corruere . Missis uero litteris conuenit ad eum multitudo copiosa : quæ sub imperio eius erat constituta : et cum uenisset imperator Maxentius . altera die sedens p̄o tribunali præcepit præcones acclamare : ut omnes ad templum idolorum conuenirent . Et ut diuites secum deferrent
5 tauros ad sacrificia : Pauperes uero saltem uiles uolucres haberent . Imperator autem obtulit in sacrificium tauros centum triginta . Similiter et principes illustres et magistri militum . præfecti . et tribuni offerebant tauros . Pauperes uero diuersa uolatilia : ita ut præ multitudine quadrupedum uel uolucrum non possent simul esse iu^t templo aut in ciuitate : quin etiam et magna uociferatione irrationabilium animalium moue-
10 batur locus et ciuitas Archori una canentes cum tybiis et cytharis : et pluribus instrumentis et plaudentibus manibus . etiam obtenebrabatur lux ex effusione sanguinum irrationabilium animalium . Tunc quædam uirgo religiosa unicaque filia regis cuiusdam in prædicta ciuitate alexandrinorum post mortem patris eius ipsa sola in palatio cum familia et sua substantia remanserat . Puerorum autem eius et ancillarum
15 erat innumerabilis multitudo et erat illi nomen Catherina . Hæc didicerat omnem scientiam omnium artium tam poetarum quam philosophorum : et omnis interpretatio lingue etiam uoluebatur in ore eius . Erat enim hæc beatissima uirgo annorum decem-octo . Audiens autem uocem irrationabilium pecudum et uolucrum et strepitum tybiis et aliis instrumentis canentium : ac multitudinem bonorum hominum plorantium et
20 non audentum dicere : quia christiani sumus propter timorem Imperatoris . Gentibus uero currentibus ad choros : et canentibus diuersis instrumentis in sacrificiis : beatissima uirgo Catherina accipens^t secum pueros : gentilium templum introiuit : quo et imperator et grandis multitudo sacrificantium conuenerant . Erat autem Catherinæ irreprehensibilis forma : præeminensque ultra omnes mulieres cum || florida spetie
25 sicut excelsa cupressus portans matutinum rorem : et sicut palma quæ circumadsistit decorata super omnes arbores . Tunc beata Catherina christi faciens sibi signaculum in fronte templum ingreditur . ingressa imperatorem sacrificantem inuenit . Milites autem nunciauerunt hæc Imperatori : qui mox eam ante se astare iussit . astans uero beata Catherina ita Imperatorem allocuta est : Quare O imperator frustra hanc tan-
30 tam multitudinem cogens animas eorum in stulticia et idolorum errore : perdis ? Nunc ergo resipiscens a stultitia mentis tuæ euidentius audi : et cognosce dominum : qui huius mundi spacium et omnia quæ in eo sunt solo archano uerbo fecit et cognosce : quia ipse est deus æternus : qui uidens mundum perditum et in potestate diaboli positum : misit filium suum unigenitum Iesum christum : et per crucem suam genus
35 humanum de perditione gehennæ ignis liberauit . Ipse est creator omnium rerum et omnium saluator : cui debetur honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum . His autem stupefactus Imperator et non ualens respondere dixit ad eam : Dimitte nos O mulier offerre sacrificium : et post plane sciemus de te : cumque fuisset coinquinatum sacrificium : præcepit militibus suis : ut compræhenderent Catherinam . et ducerent eam
40 ad palatium : Videbat enim Imperator astantem cum splendida facie : et innuebat aduersus eam forma enim eius erat quasi angeli : et facies eius per gratiam dei fulgebat sicut sol : et multitudoque populi ad eius stupebat aspectum . Veniens itaque Imperator in palatium dixit ad eam : O figura solis annuncia nobis : quæ es tu : et quod est nomen tuum : et quæ sunt uerba tua : ad quem Catherina : non me
45 cognoscis O Imperator ? Ego sum de prima : et splendida progenie Costi regis . nomen mihi Catherina est . Et didici omnis linguæ dictionem et omnem scientiam philosophorum et poetarum . Et quia cognoui omnia hæc uana esse : dereliqui ea : et secuta sum dominum meum Iesum christum : ipsiusque nomini sum de | sponsata : quia scriptum est : perdam sapientiam sapientum : et prudentiam prudentum reprobabo :
50 respondit Imperator : puto quia tu de terra nostra es nata : sed intellectualis uisio offert te nobis : ut sacrifices diis immortalibus : cui beata Catherina . robuste et nequiter affatus es Imperator . Dii autem tui nihil ualent : sed sunt surdi et muti non habentes intellectum . Ego autem ancilla sum domini mei Iesu christi . Disputemus ego et tu : et ostendam tibi inenarabilem et gloriosam sancte crucis extensionem : per quam
55 totus mundus est redemptus . Tu autem errore idolorum tuorum ad æternam pœnam deduceris : hic stupefactus Imperator : Ego inquit non sum compos tibi respondere . uenient autem^t rethores ceterique sapientes et in tuis nugis confundent te . quare sic diis nostris credes : Et hæc dicens Imperator huiusmodi scripsit epistolam : Imperator

Maxentius omnibus in suo imperio commorantibus salutem . Omnes philosophi et
 rethores festinis gressibus uenite ad nos : quandoquidem mulier plena acumine totius
 scientie tam obscurum sermonem proposuit nobis : ut non possimus illius resistere
 sermonibus : quos quidem nobis in media philosophia proposuit . Quod si poteritis :
 eidem mulieri resistere : et eam superare : non paruis uos honestabo muneribus . 5
 Missis itaque litteris uenerunt ad eum rethores numero quinquaginta : et dixit ad eos
 Imperator : Si est in uobis obscurus sermo et fusco plenus : dicite mihi : est enim
 apud nos mulier quædam gloriosa spetie fulgida omni scientia et rhetorico sermone
 decorata . Si est ergo sapientissimus sermo in uobis : et potestis contradicere aut
 superare eam : dabo uobis quæcunque postulaueritis . Primus rethor dixit : Veniat 10
 mulier huc : et ego eam primus scriptura homeri uincam . Quæ est mulier in retho-
 rica arte : quæ possit stare ante faciem meam ? Si non eam primis uerbis superauero :
 sacrifico mihi caput meum . Audiens hæc Imperator gauisus est ualde : et iussit
 assistere beatam || Catherinam ante tribunal congregans omnem multitudinem ciuita-
 tis : et philosophos aduersus eam . His autem dictis : angelus domini apparuit Cathe- 15
 rinæ dicens : Noli timere ancilla dei : Ecce addit tibi dominus sapientiam super
 sapientiam tuam : et superabis rethores : et multi credent per te in nomine domini
 nostri Iesu christi . Post hæc[†] a deo appretiabilem coronam accipies : et regnabis in
 æternum . Ego enim sum Michael archangelus testamenti domini : et missus sum
 euangelizare hæc tibi : ut replearis magno gaudio . Et hæc dicens discessit ab ea . 20
 Dicit ei primus rethor : tu quæ primam dictionem habes rethoricam robuste respon-
 dendi : pone mentem tuam et diligenter asculta[†] . Tunc beata[†] Catherina faciens signum
 crucis . et asperiens os suum dixit : Stulte non legisti : quia scriptura dicit : Com-
 præhendam sapientes in astutia eorum : et apostolus Paulus dicit uidete : ne quis
 uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem falaciam : et iterum : Sapientia huius mundi 25
 stultitia est apud deum . Sed uerbum crucis est odor bonus : his qui salui fiunt : et
 his qui pereunt . Aa[†] hæc uerba stupefactus est Imperator et omnis multitudo . Re-
 splendebat autem facies eius sicut facies angeli . Tunc beata Catherina dixit ad retho-
 rem : sane tibi dico : quoniam calcaneum scripturæ rethoris non cognoscis : sed cum
 possem multa in sublimioribus dictionum Homeri dicere græca lingua Aristotilis . 30
 Aesculapii . et Hippocratis . Dionysii . Platonis . et Ianni . et Mambris et Phylisto-
 nis : et Sibylæ . omnia ista sub calcaneo meo posui : quia horum fabrilæ[†] : et aliorum
 philosophorum demergunt homines in profundum ignis gehennæ . De ligno autem
 sanctæ crucis[†] Sibylla dixit : O lignum beatum : in quo uita pependit : et propheta
 dixit : Et enim regnabit a ligno uitæ . Cognosce ergo quis mundum composuit : et quis 35
 pedibus super mare tamquam super aridam terram ambulauit : De Aesculapio et Hip-
 pocrate talia non leguntur . Hæc ea dicente . stupefactus et confusus rethor discessit .
 Impera | tor autem et omnis multitudo admodum dubitauerunt . Cæteri uero re-
 thores timuerunt uidentes : quod primus eorum superatus esset . quod consyderantes
 nemo eorum audebat ei appropinquare . Et quoniam uidebant primi magnum stuporem 40
 rethoris . ad primam disputationem conuicti pro nihillo deputati sunt : Dicitque eis
 Imperator : accedite uos : et interrogate eam . Repondentes autem rethores dixerunt .
 Primus[†] omnium nostrorum cecidit : et quomodo nos audemus ei contradicere ? Tunc
 iratus Imperator iussit deportari ignem in mediam ciuitatem : et uiuos quinquaginta
 rethores incendi dicens : quoniam ab una muliere uicti estis . Et appræhendentes 45
 milites quinquaginta rethores trabebant[†] eos ad ignem . unus autem eorum exclamauit
 dicens : Væ nobis : quoniam tempus resolutionis nostræ aduenit hodie : Venite pro-
 cidamus ante dominum ut det nobis sanctæ crucis signaculum . ut uel sic inueniamus
 requiem[†] : et euntes ceciderunt ad pedes beatæ Catherinæ dicentes : da nobis christi
 signaculum . ut per tuam intercessionem aperiat nobis dominus portas paradisi . Illa 50
 autem plena gaudio magno dixit : Beati estis : fugite errorem : et cognoscetis deum .
 Ecce habetis baptismum christi[†] per ignem . Nolite ergo timere : modicum laborabi-
 tis : et habebitis requiem in sæcula sæculorum : Et hæc dicens dedit unicuique signa-
 culum christi . et sic missi sunt in ignem . consumataque est uita eorum in christo :
 et inuenta sunt corpora eorum illæsa : nec capillus capitis eorum combustus est ab 55
 igne . Vespere autem facto uenerunt religiosi homines de ciuitate : et tulerunt cor-
 pora eorum et posuerunt in sacro loco . Videntes autem populi hoc signum : credide-
 runt eorum multi in domino . His deinde consumatis inquit Imperator ad beatam

Catherinam . Modo confitere deo soli : et ueni in palatium meum : quia decet te habere imperium : et faciam imaginem similem speciei tuæ : erigamque per omnes ciuitates : et faciam ab omnibus salutari : quia facies tua est similis lumini : quod gloriosse fulget . Di || cit ei beata Catherina : Inuerecunde canis nonne dixi tibi : quia uolo desponsari deo meo : Dicit ei Imperator . Noli me cogere iniurias facere in splendidam faciem tuam : cui Catherina : fac quod uis . Ecce enim multitudinem uideo copiosam ex palatio maxime tuo futuram ut in christo credat . Tunc furore repletus Imperator iussit expoliari eam regali purpura et sic de bubalinis neruis per duas horas lacerari . Deinde iussit eam in carcerem mitti : ut duodecim diebus cogitaret quali pœna eam exterminaret . Imperatrix uero uxor prædicti Maxentii audito rumore dictionis eius admirabilem Catherinæ speciem uidere desyderat . Quadam autem die Porphyrius intrauit in palatium cum Araba Imperatrice : ad quem ea inquit : adiuro te O Porphyri : ut penes te reconditum habeas quod tibi dico . Valde enim desydero tuo consilio alloqui Catherinam . respondit Porphyrius : Faciam quod uis Imperatrix : tantum uesperis esto præparata : Vespere autem facto Porphyrius eam ad Cathreinam duxit . Regina uero pretio custodibus dato clam intrauit ad eam in interiorem carcerem . Et cum intrasset faciem uirginis uidit sicut solem lucere in tenebris . Magno autem timore territa cecidit ad pedes eius dicens : Beata tu inter mulieres : facies tua non similis terrestrium mulierum : sed celesti gloria est completa : et ego multo desyderio properaui te uidere . Vidi : et gauisa est anima mea . Dicit ei beata Catherina : beata es O Imperatrix : quoniam uideo coronam delatam ab angelis : ut eam super caput tuum . imponant Et post triduum deferes eam . Perges ad dominum : ubi sunt cætera bona et infinitum imperium domini nostri Iesu christi . Sed nil cura Imperatrix : Christus enim stabit tibi in omni tua inuocatione : Et dicit ei Imperatrix : timeo ualde pœnas : et tormenta : et Imperatorem pauesco : quoniam plenus est furore : et maligno spiritu : ad quam beata Catherina : Noli inquit timere O regina : sed habes signaculum christi : et non continget te pœna : sed parum patieris : et regnabis in sæcula sæculorum . Hæc ea dicente : Dixit Porphyrius ad Catherinam profer quæso nobis : quæ sint : quæ donat Christus credentibus in se : uolo et ego illi militare . Catherina : Non audisti aliquando scripturas christianorum de æternis bonis . Dicit ei Porphyrius : Non aliquando cognoui . et beata Catherina : Quali lingua aut quibus uerbis aliquid de æternis bonis dici queat ? nullis certe : qui autem perseuerauerit usque in finem pro Christo : hic saluus erit . hereditabitque bona illa : quæ angeli possident . Tunc gaudio repletus Porphyrius credidit domino christo cum ducentis militibus . et osculantes eam exierunt de carcere media nocte : præcipientes custodibus : ut nulli hæc indicarent . Erat autem beata Catherina in carcere duodecim diebus et nutriebatur a splendida columba dei : quibus expletis apparuit illi dominus cum multitudine angelorum et dixit ei : beata es inter mulieres : quoniam multi per te credent in nomine meo . ueruntamen ne timeas : ego enim sum semper tecum . Hæc cum dixisset : cum angelis suis ascendit in cælum . Mane autem facto iussit Imperator eam duci de carcere : et uenire ad palatium : quæ cum duceretur : facies eius resplendebat : sicut sol per gratiam dei : ita ut omnes mirarentur . in aspectu eius . Videns autem eam Imperator stupefactus dixit : forma solis decet te . Veni sacrificare diis : et regnabis mecum : et noli perdere pulchritudinem tuam . Catherina respondit : Quid miraris in pulchritudine mea : quæ hodie est : et cras non erit : Vmbra est enim et transiens sicut flos siccabitur . Noli consyderare pulchritudinem meam : quæ hodie pollet : et cras in sepulchro mittetur : et fiet nigra marcescentibus ossibus : et caro edetur a uermibus . Ego autem sum desponsata domino Iesu christo : et illi seruo fidem : ut non perdat corpus meum in gehennam ignis . Hæc illa dicente præfectus quidam Cusarsates nomine dixit Imperatori : Audi Imperator : et fac quod dico tibi : aliter enim non poteris suade || re ei : nisi uideat supplicium timoris : et sic sacrificabit . quod si non crediderit . male pereat . Dicit ei Imperator : Et si hoc noluerit : quid inde facturi sumus ? Dicit ei præfectus : fiant rotæ quattuor et in unaquaque rota figantur clauis acutissimi et seræ tres : sedeatque hæc iuxta rotas et inter immanes morsus rotarum fiat magnus stridor cum cursu : ut uideat et sacrificet . sin autem male moriatur . Præcepit ergo Imperator : ut statim consumaretur illud machinamentum : et consumatum est opus tribus diebus : Et iussit eam ligari prope rotas et uolui in rotulis : cumque diu uolueretur : nihil mali sensit . Veniens autem

angelus domini rapuit eam de curru . Rotæ autem deuolutæ interfecerunt multos ex gentilium militibus . Cæteri uero clamabant dicentes : uerus deus est christianorum . Facta autem hac uoce cœpit Imperator trahere eam ad tormenta . Hæc autem eo agente exiuit Imperatrix Augusta de palatio suo cum dissolutis crinibus : et ait Imperatori : Dimitte ancillam dei : quoniam non tangit eam pœna . Quare luctaris cum deo ? Cui respondit Imperator : Nunquid et tu uis fieri christiana ? Quæ dixit : Volo . et sum : quoniam non est alius deus præter deum Catherinæ . Ira autem commotus Imperator iussit deferri magnum instrumentum : et ligari plumbum in quattuor partibus et trahi Imperatricem : et adduci longos clauos infigique in eius mamillas : et sic recludi eam sub instrumento . et iussit tolli sursum operimentum instrumenti : et statim abscisse sunt mamillæ Imperatricis[†] . tunc in eam dedit capitalem sententiam : qua lata : dixit beatæ Catherinæ : Ora pro me ad dominum : ut aperiat mihi portas regni cælestis . Respondit Catherina : Perge : quoniam regnabis in æternum . Et cum ducta esset extra ciuitatem consumata est uita eius gladio . Veniens autem Porphyrius magister militum cum ducentis militibus dixit Imperatori : Et ego christianus sum cum istis militibus : et christo militare uolumus . Audiens hæc Imperator clamans uehementer dixit : | Ve mihi Porphyri . tu quidem eras omnis uirtus mea . Et conuersus ad milites . quid passi inquit estis : quia recessistis a diis ? Illi autem timentes non responderunt Imperatori : quos ubi uidisset Porphyrius perterritos dixit eis : Dimittitis caput : et ad pedes itis . Ad hunc sermonem respondit Imperator . Malum caput tu es illorum . Et iussit eos trahi extra ciuitatem : et sic consumata est uita eorum gladio . His itaque gestis iussit Imperator ut duceretur Catherina extra ciuitatem : et gladio decolaretur . Plurimus autem populus maximeque in signes mulieres sequebantur eam Veniens autem ad locum : ubi decolanda erat : et uidens multitudinem conuenientium dixit spiculatoribus . Sustinete fratres : ut orem ad dominum meum Iesum christum : et relinquam nomen meum in posteriorem generationem . Videbat autem multos causa sua lachrymantes . Illi autem dixerunt ad illam : Ora sicut uis . Sancta autem Catherina extendit manus suas ad cælos : et dixit : Domine deus exaudi me : et tribue omnibus memorantibus nomen meum Catherinam : pro tuo amore abundantiam panis et uini . sanitatem corporis . seruitium quadrupedum . repelle ab eis omnem morbum et omnem auram tempestatum : et da omnibus colentibus nomen meum : ut non possint a subitanea morte perire : nec careant aliquo membrorum : nec mulier patiatur abortum : nec in partu pereat : et non sterilitas fructuum in ciuitate aut in regione sed cælestis ros sit super eam die ac nocte : et da eis remissionem omnium peccatorum : quod si recordatus fuerit aliquis nominis ancillæ tuæ Catherinæ in hora exitus sui : angeli tui deducant eum in paradisi sanctam requiem . et cum finisset orationem : Dominus locutus est de nube dicens : ueni electa mea : quia aperte sunt tibi portæ regni cælorum . Ecce omnes angeli congregati tenentes in manibus coronas : et præstolantes aduentum tuum : Gratiam autem quam postulasti : dabo omnibus uenerantibus nomen tuum : et festiuitatem tuam : et uitam æternam possidebunt . Et cum data esset uox dei : || cum magno gaudio . dixit beata Catherina spiculatori . Veni : et fac quod iussum est tibi ab Imperatore . Veniens autem spiculator amputauit ceruicem eius : et pro sanguine lac emanauit in terra . angeli uero uenientes tulerunt corpus eius : et portauerunt illud in montem synai : et posuerunt in monumentum nouum : De quo in omni solempnitate beatæ Catherinæ emanat oleum et lac usque in hodiernum diem : et quicumque habent ex eis : curantur a quæcumque ægritudine . Videntes autem populi corpus sanctissimæ Catherinæ ab angelis[†] deportari . glorificauerunt deum : et crediderunt in eum . Decolata est beata Catherina septimo calendas decembris in ciuitate alexandrinorum regnante domino nostro Iesu christo : cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum Amen .

APPENDIX III

Trial-edition of the prologue to the *Vulgate*

The trial-edition of the prologue was undertaken to see whether Dobson's choice of manuscripts had been right, and what would happen if a diverse range of manuscripts were added to his apparatus. In the event, Dobson's use of mainly French manuscripts was a good choice, seeing that the *Vulgate* originated from northern France and Dobson did include the three eleventh-century witnesses of the full text. As a result, it is clear that a new edition of the *Vulgate*, one that would take account of all the manuscripts, is not only not necessary but also not practical. Already the edition prepared by Dobson reveals through its very dense apparatus (based mainly on twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts) that an edition in the 'classical' sense of the word is simply not possible, and the result obtained would not warrant the effort.

As the basis for the trial-edition I took the prologue as edited by Dobson. The choice of manuscripts for this trial edition is entirely random: one the one hand because they were ones I could or had accessed, on the other hand because it would be interesting to see how they would behave when compared with the mainly French-provenance manuscripts Dobson had edited. I have divided the apparatus into four layers, according to the type of text it precedes. The greatest number of manuscripts that preserve the prologue do so in connection with the text of the *Vulgate*. A number of manuscripts that contain an epitome also offer the prologue. There are also a handful of manuscripts which preserve only the prologue.

I have not adopted any readings into the text, even though on a number of occasions there are reasons to do so. This would have necessitated a more dense and complicated presentation. This way, the action is to be found in the several apparatus I have created. I have not recorded the variants for the *incipit* and *explicit*,

because the variations here will not be as telling as those in the body of the text and would therefore result in more clutter.¹

The essential observations that can be made based on this trial edition of the prologue are the following:

- The prologue which precedes the main text does not have many major variants – it is relatively stable.
- Some of the variants in the prologue preceding the epitomes are not derived from the main text variants, and thus point to an independent tradition in the sense that an editing process in the prologue can be detected.
- Certain readings present in the prologue can be a clue for determining the nature of the text that follows. In other words one can tell by certain readings whether the text that follows is that of the *Vulgate* or an epitome.
- Within the body of manuscripts collated for this exercise I have not come across any *codices descripti*. Of course, I have worked from a comparatively small number of manuscripts, although a sample of 46 out of a much greater number is indicative. However, the lack of any *codices descripti* shows that the prologue (and therefore the *Vulgate*) is not fixed.
- In London BL Royal 8.C.vi. the prologue of the *Vulgate* has been integrated into a compilation of material for use by preachers. It has been modified so that it can be used to introduce any female saint by leaving out Katherine's name and details of the enemies she had to face. At the same time, some of the military imagery and rhetorical/stylistic embellishments have been removed.

¹ The trial-edition of the prologue was undertaken mainly as an editorial exercise. In the event some manuscripts displayed such peculiar behaviour that I decided to include it here. The apparatus is, of course, in need of revision and the whole in need of further study.

List of manuscripts with an indication of the text that follows after the prologue.

Signum	Manuscript	Text
A	Angers BM 813, fol. 46-72v, s. xii, St Aubin, Angers?	<i>Vulgate</i>
Bn	Berlin SBPK theol. lat. fol. 267, fol. 195a-199a, s. xii ^{2/2} , Springiersbach	<i>Vulgate</i>
D	Bern BB 133, fol. 65v-84v, s. xi-xii, France?	<i>Vulgate</i>
E	Bern BB 137, fol. 158-178, s. xii, Ile-de-France?	<i>Vulgate</i>
Θ	Bruxelles BR 8690-8702, fol. 14-42v, fol. s. xii, Duyn, Amsterdam	<i>Vulgate</i>
G	Bruxelles BR 18018, fol. 25v-37, s. xi ^{ex} , Lobbes	<i>Vulgate</i>
Bo	Bruxelles Société des Bollandistes Ms 5, fol. 101a-108b, s.xii, Grimberghen Ms 433, fol. 156a-166va, s. xiii, Heinsberg	<i>Vulgate</i>
Bd	Budapest OSK lat. 389, fol. 90-106v, s. xv, Bohemia	<i>Vulgate</i>
Cai	Cambrai BM 863, fol. 263-278, s. xii, St Sépulcre, Cambrai	<i>Vulgate</i>
Dh	s-Gravenhage KB 70.E.21, fol. 315v-325, 1461, St Catherine, Muiden	<i>Vulgate</i>
Erl	Erlangen UB 489, fol. 90-90v & 94-109, 1477	<i>Vulgate</i> + LA
F1	Frankfurt a.M. Sta & UB Barth. 5, fol. 148va-160va, 1365, Frankfurt	<i>Vulgate</i>
F2	Frankfurt a.M. Sta & UB Barth. 71, fol. 7, s. xiv, Frankfurt	prol. + BHL 1669
H	Heiligenkreuz StB 14, fol. 13a-17vb, s. xii, Heiligenkreuz	MLA
K	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr 141, fol. 68va-81a, 1465, Niederwerth	<i>Vulgate</i>
Ln	Laon BM 344, fol. 135b-148a, s. xii, Cuissy	<i>Vulgate</i>
L	Leipzig UB Rep. II 64, fol. 60v-100, xii ^{ex}	<i>Vulgate</i>
L2	Leipzig UB Ms. 436, fol. 15-28, s. xiii, Chemnitz	<i>Vulgate</i>
Ad	London BL Add. 10933, fol. 126b-134b, s. xv, Wiblingen	<i>Vulgate</i>
Hrl	London BL Harley 2800, fol. 221va-228a, s. xiii, Arnstein	<i>Vulgate</i>
R	London BL Royal 8 C.vi, fol. 160-v, s. xiv ² , English?	prologue
Mt	Metz BM 1149, fol. 2va-19b, s. xii, Tongres/Notre Dame	<i>Vulgate</i>
Mk	Melk StB 100 (alias 678, M.8), fol. 214-222, s. xv, Melk	<i>Vulgate</i>

Mü1	München BSB Clm 2610, fol. 16-26, s. xiii, Alderspach	<i>Vulgate</i>
Mü3	München BSB Clm 15760, fol. 169vb-176va, 1450, Salzburg	epitome
Mü4	München BSB Clm 21658, fol. 36a-b + 38va-48a, s. xv, Weihenstefan	<i>Vulgate</i>
Mü2	München BSB Clm 5664, fol. 1-v & 7-33v, s. xv, Diessen	<i>Vulgate</i>
Mz	Paris Mazarine lat. 1713, fol. 46va-56a, s. xiii, Navarre	BHL 1663a
U	Paris BN lat. 12259, fol. 267-286, s. xii, St Germain des Prés	<i>Vulgate</i>
Y	Paris BN lat. 17007, fol. 203-210v, xii ²² , Val-Notre-Dame	<i>Vulgate</i>
M	Paris BN lat. 1970, fol. 54-70v, s. xi, Fécamp	<i>Vulgate</i>
O	Paris BN lat. 5343, fol. 135-137 & 140-148v, s.xi, St Trinité Vendôme	<i>Vulgate</i>
S	Paris BN lat. 5365, fol. 163-171, s. xii, St Martial de Limoges	<i>Vulgate</i>
Ps5	Paris BN lat. 5371, fol. 39a-51va, s. xiii, dioc. Cambrai	<i>Vulgate</i>
Ps	Paris BN lat. 11754, fol. 213-221a, s. xiii, St Germain des Prés	BHL 1663a
Ps3	Paris BN ms. lat. 15030, fol. 25-41, s. xv, St Victor, Paris?	BHL 1663a
P1	Praha KMK Ms E.66, fol. 231a-237a, s. xiv	epitome
P2	Praha NKČR Ms 6.E.1, fol. 2-30b, s. xiii-xiv	<i>Vulgate</i>
J	Rouen BM 1394 (U. 119), fol. 131-167, s. xii, Mortagne	<i>Vulgate</i>
So	St Omer BM 716 vol. viii, fol. 182v 192v, s. xiii, Clairmarais	<i>Vulgate</i>
Ga	St Gallen StaB (Vad.) 70, fol. 135-142v, s. xiv-xv, St Gallen	<i>Vulgate</i>
Tr	Trier StaB 2002/92 4 ^o , fol. 83-95, xv ⁱⁿ , Mettlach	<i>Vulgate</i>
Vc	Valenciennes BM 513, fol. 188vb-202a, 1145-1169, St Amand en Pévèle	<i>Vulgate</i>
Wz	Würzburg UB Mp.th. f. 122, fol. 58va-67v, s. xiv, Germany	<i>Vulgate</i> + variations
Z	Zwettl StB 15, fol. 17va-21, xii ^{ex} , Zwettl	MLA

Division of the manuscripts into apparatus according to the text they contain.

MLA

H	Heiligenkreuz 14
Mk	Melk 100
Z	Zwettl 15
Λ	consensus of all three manuscripts

1663a & other epitomes

1663a	Paris BN lat. 11754 [Ps], Paris BN lat. 15030 [Ps3], Paris Maz. lat. 1713 [Mz])
Erl	Erlangen 489 – 1663 + LA
F1	Frankfurt Barth. 5 – epitome
F2	Frankfurt Barth. 71 – BHL 1669
Mü3	München Clm 15760 – epitome
P1	Praha KMK E.66 – epitome

Main text (Vulgate)

Manuscripts used by Dobson (from which a selection of readings has been taken):

D	Bern 133
E	Bern 137
Θ	Bruxelles 8690-8702
G	Bruxelles BR 18018
J	Rouen 1394 (U. 119)
L	Leipzig Rep. II 64
M	Paris lat. 1970
O	Paris lat. 5343
S	Paris lat. 5365
U	Paris lat. 12259
Y	Paris lat. 17007

Additional manuscripts:

A	Angers 813
Tr	Berlin theol. lat. fol. 267
Bo	Brux. Boll. 5 & 433 [Bo]
Bs	Budapest lat. 389
Cai	Cambrai 863
Dh	s'Gravenhage 70.E.21
K	Koblenz LHA Best. 701 nr. 141
Ln	Laon 344
L2	Leipzig Ms. 436
Ad	London Add. 10933
Hrl	London Harley 2800
Mt	Metz 1149
Mü1	München Clm 2610
Mü2	München Clm 5664

Ps5	Paris BN lat. 5371
P2	Praha NKČR Ms 6.E.1
Ga	St Gallen StaB (Vad.) 70
So	St Omer 716 vol. viii
Tr	Trier StB 2002/92
Vc	Valenciennes 513
Wz	Würzburg Mp.th. f. 122

<u>Unknown (epitome or main text?)</u>	
Mü4	München Clm 21658

<u>Royal 8.C.vi</u>	
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Inversions have not normally been included in the apparatus, unless several manuscripts agree.

Discussion of some readings

Section [2]

Facta in U instead of *gesta*. This combination is the more popular one of the two,² but in view of the fact that this is a unique reading the slightly rarer *gesta* is to be preferred.

Bellicum \times *bellum*: this is a variant reading more prevalent in the main text manuscripts; only two of the epitome manuscripts have *bellum*.

Imbelles \times *rebelles*: the variant *rebelles* occurs exclusively within the epitome manuscripts, and there it is the norm rather than the exception. The fact that Mü4 shares this variant would suggest that it is an epitome manuscript. The change of the prefix from *im-* to *re-* makes the listeners much more than a passive audience; instead, they are active rebels against the Christian cause. A small number of main text manuscripts offer *imbecilles* instead, which removes the military colouring, and could reflect the use of the same word in the next sentence.

Clearly F1 and F2 are related. They both have *duris* against *diris*, and *bellum* where all the other manuscripts offer *bellicum*. These two manuscripts were in all probability produced at the cathedral chapter of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt, with F1 serving as the main copy against which F2 was corrected.³

Section [3]

Imbecillae aetatis \times *imbecillem aetatis* & *imbecillis aetatis*: on balance, the manuscripts are divided on this. About half have *imbecillae*; the majority of the rest have *imbecillis*, with a couple offering *imbecillem*. This is due to the fact the correct form can be either *imbecillus* or *imbecillis*. Taking into account the balance of the sentence, *imbecillem* is wrong. A search in the PL database reveals that, in general, *imbecillis*, e

² A search in the Patrologia Latina Database (medieval authors) for the two combinations – *fortia gesta* and *fortia facta* – turned up 15 hits for the former and 38 for the latter. AASS database: *fortia gesta* – 6 hits, *fortia facta* – 6 hits (pre-1500 hag. texts).

³ 'Zu beachten auch die zahlreichen Krrektorvermerke und die Beziehungen zum dem Legendar Ms. Barth. 2-5 (Frankfurt 1356', in G. Powitz & H. Buck, *Die Handschriften des Bartholomaeusstifts und des Karmeliterklosters in Frankfurt am Main* (1974), p. 150.

is a lot more frequent than *imbecillus, a, um*. In line with this, the alternative reading of *imbecillem* appears to be a ‘lectio faciliior’.

Per pacem > *pace* is a variant that occurs only within the epitome manuscripts. Perhaps *per pacem* is slightly more rarefied than *pace*.

Section [4]

Et forte aliquis dicat..: probably the most significant difference between the epitome manuscripts and the main-text manuscripts is that the epitome manuscripts here clearly reveal an editorial intervention. In the great majority the indirect speech has been replaced by direct speech, thus giving the imaginary interlocutor more prominence. The change is ushered in by *dicit/dicet* in the indicative rather than subjunctive; after *dicit/dicet* we have to punctuate with a colon.

Ubique gentium fateri > *gentes (ubique) fatentur/ gentium ore fateri/etc*: the transformation of the impersonal expression to the more active *gentes (ubique) fatentur* is a completely different construction from what stands in the main text, and occurs in many of the epitome manuscripts that also offer the indirect speech (see above). The main text manuscripts that have variants here retain the passive construction, and thus display no deliberate intervention. The fact that Mü4 does not follow the epitome manuscripts suggests that does not contain an epitome but the main text.

Eculeos > *eculei*: the manuscripts across the board are divided on these two variants, although in terms of the epitome manuscripts they tend to have *eculei*. *Eculeos* occurs in a list of nouns that look like nominatives – in the case of *vincula, verbera* and *carceres* they can be either nominative or accusative plural. They are however all dependent on *manifestum est*, which has been delayed until the end of the phrase, and thus have to be accusative. *Eculei* instead of *eculeos* is the nominative form, clearly substituted by some scribes to fit within the apparent list of nominatives.

Suppliciorum > *tormentorum*: the substitution of *tormentorum* for *suppliciorum* occurs only in a small number of manuscripts, most of them witnesses to the main text. This could be a tiny indication that the epitome manuscripts carrying this reading are related to the main text manuscripts. The PL database reveals 26 hits for

the combination of *suppliciorum* with *genera*, and 115 for *genera* with *tormentorum*. A ‘lector faciliior’ (so-to-speak).

Poenalibus tormentis × *poenarum generibus*,⁴ variant found only within the group of epitome manuscripts. A clear intervention that has changed the clause completely, keeping the root *poena*-.

Relationships: R and Bn over *gentium ore*. There is a clear connection between main text manuscripts and those of the epitomes (not MLA) over *eculeos* × *eculei* and *suppliciorum* × *tormentorum* across the board. Also, there is a connection between Ad and Ga over *denotuit*.

Section [5]

Intorquet × *torquet/vi(s) torquet/extorquet/contorquet/non torquet*: most of the manuscripts that have variant readings here are witnesses to an epitome. They tend to leave off the prefix (*torquet*); *vis* and *vi torquet* are palaeographical errors. As far as the main text manuscripts are concerned, the various prefixes indicate an uncertainty of meaning.

Section [6]

Virago × *virgo*: the ‘lectio difficilior’ of *virago* is to be preferred.

Section [7]

Non inutiliter × *utiliter/viriliter*: this is clearly a mistake, exclusive to the epitome manuscripts. Those manuscripts omitting *non* and keeping *inutiliter* do not convey the original meaning. *Viriliter* is either a misreading or a more or less convenient adaptation from the previous sentence – in the context here it makes not much sense.

Exordium × *inicium/ordinem/exemplum*: *sumamus* with *exemplum* is more frequent than with *exordium*,⁵ thus a ‘lectio difficilior’ and to be preferred. *Ordinem* is close enough to *exordium* to be a palaeographical error. *Inicium* has the same meaning as the word it replaces.

⁴ Only one occurrence of *poenarum generibus* in PL database.

⁵ PA-database search (med. Authors): *sumamus exordium* = 26 hits, *sumamus exemplum* = 46. Not hits for combinations with *inicium* or *ordinem*.

[2] Cum sanctorum fortia gesta ad memoriam posterorum transcribimus, quid aliud agimus nisi, ut ita dicam, quoddam incentivum bellicum promovemus per quod imbelles animos auditorum ad bella dominica accendamus [2b] ut, cum pro laborum exercitiis coronas acquisitas audierint, iam certi de spe retributionis ardentiores fiant ad tolerandas passiones, hoc sane perpendentes quia non leve aut inane constat esse praemium pro quo sancti Dei corpora sua diris tormentorum suppliciis tradiderunt?

MLA

MLA does not have differing readings for section [2b]

1663a & other epitomes

[2] posterorum] *om.* Mü3 || bellicum] bellum F1 F2 || imbelles] rebelles Erl F1 F2 Mz P1 Ps || accendamus] *add.* vel succendamus Mz
[2b] retributionis] tribulacionis Mü3 || pro] *om.* F1 F2 Mz P1 || laborum] sanctorum F2 || coronas] ~~a-audiri-m~~ omnes coronas F2 || acquisitas] exquisitas Ps || fiant] fiat Erl || tolerandas] tollerandas Erl F1 F2 Mü3 || quia] qui F2 || esse] est F1 || corpora sua] sua corpora *after* suppliciis P1 || diris] duris F1 F2, claris Ps || tradiderunt] tradiderem *a.c.* Ps

Main text

[2] cum] dum Dh || gesta] facta U || ad memoriam posterorum] *om.* Bo || transcribimus] perscribimus P2 Tr, scribimus Bo || agimus] egimus A || quoddam] *om.* Mü2 || incentivum] innocentium *a.c.* Mt, incendium Tr || bellicum] ad bellum Dh, bellum D L L2 Θ Ad A Bn Bd Ga Hrl K Mü1 Mü2 (bellorum Θ², bellicum Θ¹ *in marg.*), belli M *p.c.* || imbelles] imbecilles L S U Bn, inbecilles Mü1, nimbecilles Bd || animos] animas Mü2 || accendamus] accendimus Bd Dh L Mü2 Wz
[2b] acquisitas audierint] acquisierint L2, inquisitas audirent Bd || iam] *om.* L2 || certi de spe] decerte Bd || ardentiores] *om.* Bn || tolerandas] tollerandas Ad Bd Cai (*a.c.*) Mü2 P2 Tr Wz, tollerandos K || hoc] ut Bd || aut] nec L2, vel Vc || constat] *om.* A || sancti] martires Tr || Dei] *om.* Bn || sua] *om.* Mü1 || tormentorum] *om.* L2 Bz

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[2] fortia] forma Mü4 || imbelles] rebelles Mü4 || dominica] dogmatica Mü4
[2b] iam] et iam Mü4 || tolerandas] tollerandas Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[2] cum] {}um R || transcribimus] referuntur R || quid .. imbelles] *om.* R || dominica accendamus] deum accenduntur R
[2b] laborum exercitiis] labore R || audierint] audierunt *a.c.* R || certi] certe *a.c.* R || de spe] spe *a.c.* R || tolerandas] tollendas R || aut] an R || tormentorum suppliciis] tormentis R

[3] Haec michi causa extitit qua gloriosae virginis Katerinae memorabilem certaminis agonem stili officio proposui enarrandum, ut dum infirmioris sexus constantiam et imbecillae aetatis virtutem attendimus, hoc nobis ad ignominiam et opprobrium iure quis esse dicat, quod puellas teneras per ignem et ferrum ad patriam caelestem tendere videmus, et nos barbati homines nec per pacem Christum sequi curamus.

MLA

[3] Katerinae] Kateryne H || imbecillae] inbecillem Λ || ad ignominiam] adignominiam H Z || per pacem] pace Λ || Christum] *om.* Λ

1663a & other epitomes

[3] haec] hoc F1 || extitit] existit P1 || virginis] virginis et martiris Erl || stili officio *om.* F1 F2 Mz Ps, ? P1 || dum] cum F1 Mz P1 Ps || constantiam] constantia Ps *p.c.* || imbecillae aetatis] *corr. to* inbecillitatis Ps, inbecillis etatis Erl F1 F2 || imbecillae] inbecillem Ps3 || hoc] in hoc Erl || esse dicat] *smudged & esse conicat in marg.* Erl || per pacem] pace F1 F2 Mü3 Mz P1 Ps, pacem Ps3, in pacem Erl || Christum sequi] sequi Christum Ps || Christum] *om.* Mü3

Main text

[3] qua] quare Mt || certaminis] certaminis sui Bd, passionis Mü1 || proposui enarrandum] enarrandum suscepì S, proposui enarrare Bd, proposui exarandum Tr || enarrandum] enarrandam L2 || constantiam] custodiam Tr || imbecillae aetatis] inbecillem etatis A L L2 Mt, inbecillis etatis Dh Y Bo Cai Ln Mü1 P2 Ps5 Tr Wz, inbecillis etates Bd || attendimus] attendamus Bn || ignominiam] ignorantiam Hrl, scandalum K || opprobrium] opprobrii S || quis] iure⁶ non quis L2 || esse] non esse K || dicat] non dicat Ln L2 || quod] vel Bd || patriam caelestem] celestem patriam Mü1 || tendere] cedere Bd || videmus] videamus Dh || et nos] nos Tr || homines] *om.* Bd || curamus] volumus Wz || Christum] sed Christum K, *om.* Ps5 S

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[3] virginis] virginis et martiris Mü4 || memorabilem] memorialem Mü4 || certaminis agonem] agonem certaminis Mü4 || etatis] etate Mü4 || per pacem] paci/pati? Mü4 || Christum] nec Christum Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[3] hec .. enarrandum] *om.* R || ut dum infirmioris sexus] set dum muliebris sexus R || imbecille] inbecillem R || nobis] verum, verbum *a.c.* R || ad ignominiam et opprobrium] ad obprobrium R || iure quis esse dicat] quis non dicat R || teneras] non teneras R || videmus] non debemus *a.c.* R

⁶ Which is then left out a couple of words later.

[4] Et forte aliquis dicat fidem catholicam, per totum orbem disseminatam, Christi nomen ubique gentium fateri; et, quia Christianitas in suis principibus iam religiosa iamque fidelis est, iam persecutionis procella detumuit, iam vincula et verbera, carceres et eculeos et cetera suppliciorum genera procul cessisse manifestum est, et ideo Christicolis iure non potest imputari si, his nostris temporibus, poenalibus tormentis non probantur, quia persecutionis occasio, sedata pace, iam quievit.

MLA

[4] et] set Z, sed H || dicat] dicet A || fidem catholicam .. disseminatam] fides k(c)atholica disseminata est A || orbem] orbe Z || ubique gentium fateri] gentes ubique fatentur A || iamque] iam A || est] extitit A || iam] iamque A || suppliciorum] tormentorum A || poenalibus tormentis] penarum generibus A || pace iam] iam pace Z, *punctuation in Mk implies* occasio sedata, pace iam quievit

1663a & other epitomes

[4] et] sed Mü3 || dicat] dicit F1 F2 P1, dicit *p.c.* Mz, dicet Ps3 || fidem catholicam .. disseminatam] fides catholica .. disseminata Ps Mü3 Mz, fides catholica .. est disseminata F1 F2 P1 (P1: esse) || fides catholica est disseminatam Ps3 || ubique gentium fateri] gentibus ubique fatentur Mz, gentes ubique fatentur F1 Mü3 P1 Ps, gentes fatentur F2 Ps3 || religiosa] gloriosa F1 F2 Mz P1 Ps || iamque] iam Mü3 || est] extitit Mü3 || persecutionis procella detumuit] *om.* Mü3 || procella detumuit] gladius desynt vel detimuit Erl || verbera carceres] carceres et verbera Mz || eculeos] etulei F1, eculei Erl F2 P1, equlei Ps, aculeos Ps3 || suppliciorum] tormentorum Mü3 || ideo] igitur Erl || iure non potest] non propter iure F1, non potest iure Mz || nostris] nostre P1 || poenalibus tormentis] penarum generibus F1 Mü3 Mz P1 Ps Ps3, tormentis penarum generibus F2 || quia] qui F1 || sedata] sedatam Erl, data F1 P1 || pace iam] *om.* P1, pace F1 F2, pace quidem Mz Ps

Main text

[4] et] etsi Bd || forte] fortasse K || aliquis] quis Wz || totum orbem] tota terra J totam orbem *p.c.* Ga, universum orbem P2 || Christi] Christique Mü2 S || ubique] *om.* Bn || gentium fateri] gentium ore fateri Bn, gentes fateri Ad Hrl K Wz, fateri Tr, linguis gentium spreti P2 || principibus] principiis Bd, *om.* Cai || detumuit] denotuit Ad Ga || iam³] iamque Mü1 S, et P2 || et verbera] *om.* Mü1, iam verbera Wz || carceres] carceris Ga, et carceres Dh Mü2 Wz || et] *om.* Wz || eculeos] aculeos L2, eculeus Ga, eculei E G J M O Y Vc, *om.* Wz || suppliciorum] tormentorum Bd Dh L L2 Mü2 || procul] *om.* Wz || cessisse] cecidisse Bd, cessare Mü1 || non potest imputari] imputari non potest Mü2, non imputabitur Wz || non] *om.* L2 || his nostris] *om.* Bd, huius nostris P2 || poenalibus tormentis] penali detrimento L2, tormentis U, penalibus Mü2 || persecutionis] persecutio Mü2 Dh L, sedata persecutio L2 || occasio] *om.* Bd Mü2 Dh U L L2 || sedata] data Mü2 Dh, *om.* L2 || pace iam] pace Ps5 Wz, iam pace Tr, in parte L2

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[4] totum] totam Mü4 || eculeos] eculei Mü4 || ideo] igitur Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[4] gentium] gentium ore R || fidelis est] fides esset R || carceres et eculeos] carceres R
|| manifestum] manufactum *a.c.* R || si] set R || penalibus] *om.* R

[5] Huic, quisquis ille est, tale damus responsum: Virgo haec non uniformi persecutionis genere impugnabatur, cui a fronte externus hostis, a tergo incumbibat domesticus et occultus; [5b] alia enim intelligenda est persecutio, quae immanior et magis noxia est et quam non materialis intorquet severitas, sed vitiorum gignit adversitas.

MLA

[5] est] *om.* H

[5b] quae] et quae Z || immanior] maior Z Mk || est et] *om.* Z, *only et omitted* H Mk || intorquet] contorquet Mk || sed] nec Z, sed nec H Mk || gignit] arguit A

1663a & other epitomes

[5] ille est] est ille Mz P1 Ps || responsum] exemplum Erl || virgo] virago Ps3 || non] *om.* F1 || cui] quid Ps3 || tergo] tergo vero L2 || incumbibat] inbumbebat F1 || externus] extremis Erl

[5b] quae] qui F1 F2 || et] *om.* Mz Ps || magis] ~~maior~~ magis F2 || est] *om.* F1 F2 || et] *om.* Erl F2 Mü3 P1 || materialis] material Ps || intorquet] torquet Erl F1 F2 Mz Ps, vis torquet Ms Ps, vi torquet P1 || sed] sed nec Mü3 Ps3 || vitiorum] vitiosorum Ps3 || gignit] arguit Mü3 Ps3

Main text

[5] ille] *om.* Dh || tale] *om.* Ga || damus] demus Vc || hec non] erat nec Ps5 || uniformi] uniformis E J O S Ad Ga: (*inversion: genere persecutionis*)⁷ Ps5 Wz || externus] eternus Bd, exterior Ad, exterius Ga || hostis] *om.* Wz

[5b] intelligenda est persecutio] est intelligenda persecutio Mü1 || intelligenda] intelligitur Ps5 || immanior] imanior G, maior Ad Ga, et maior P2 || et²] *om.* P2 Ps5 || non] *om.* Bd || materialis] malis Ad (*in erasure*) || intorquet] extorquet Ad Ga, contorquet Bn, torquet Mü1, non torquet P2, vi torquet Hrl || severitas] se veritas P2 || vitiorum] vicinior L L2 || gignit] gingnit Mü1

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[5] ille est] est ille Mü4 || responsum] exemplum Mü4 || impugnabatur] puniebatur Mü4

[5b] intelligenda est persecutio] persecutio intelligenda est Mü4 || et²] *om.* Mü4 || intorquet] torquet Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[5] & [5b] hinc taliter dicenti respondeatur: quod alia est persecutio interior, alia exterior. Hostis scilicet visibilis exterius set forcior viciorum caterva pugnat internus R

⁷ L2 has this inversion too

[6] Porro haec generosa virago, gemina oppugnantium acie circumsepta, et furentem persequentium rabiem constanter evicit et conglobatas vitiorum acies viriliter debellavit.

MLA

[6] furentem] furentem vi A

1663a & other epitomes

[6] virago] virgo Erl F1 F2 || gemina] *om.* F1 F2 || et] que P1 || furentem] furantem Ps, furentem vi Ps3 || evicit] devicit Erl || vitiorum] viviciorum *a.c.* F1, vi vitiorum F2, viticiorum Mz || viriliter] *om.* Ps3

Main text

[6] generosa] generositas *a.c.* Bd || virago] virgo Cai E Ga Ln Tr Wz || gemina] *om.* Bn || acie] ac A || circumsepta] circumspecta Ad Ga Mü1 || furentem persequentium] furentium G Ln, in persequenntium Mü3 || conglobatas] conglobatos Bn, globatas Bd Mü1 || viriliter] *om.* Mü2 P2

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[6] virago] virgo Mü4 || evicit] devicit Mü4 || vitiorum] sed vitiorum Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[6] *om.* R

[7] Unde gemino gloriosa triumpho, non inutiliter ut spero ad informandas mentes proponitur, quae puellari corpore sic sexum vicit et saeculum ut et noxia carnis oblectamenta vitaret et victoriosa passione tormentorum genera superaret. De hac igitur pro aedificatione locuturi, tale sumamus exordium.

MLA

[7] non inutiliter] utiliter A || mentes] *i.l.* H || igitur] *om.* Z

1663a & other epitomes

[7] unde] inde Mü3 || gemino] gemine F1 || non inutiliter] utiliter Mü3, viriliter F1 F2 Mz P1 Ps Ps3 || informandas] formandas F1 F2 Mz P1 Ps || sic] si Ps3 || et²] *om.* F1 Mz P1 Ps Ps3 || vitaret] victaret Ps || passione] passionem Mz || tormentorum] per tormentorum F1 F2 Mz P1 || hac] ea F1 || locuturi] loci nostri F1 Mz Ps || exordium] exemplum Mz

Main text

[7] unde] unde virgo Vc || gloriosa] glorioso Ad Ga || informandas] formandas Bn, infirmandas Ga || mentes] mentes fidelium Tr || quae] quod Bn || puellari] in puellari Mü1, corporali Dh || sexum] ferrum Ad || vicit] vincit Ad Ga || ut et] ut Mü2 || carnis oblectamenta] blandimenta Bd || victoriosa] victoriose Bd || igitur] *om.* L2 || pro edificatione] glorificatione L2, add. in marg. Mt || locuturi] locuturi ab eius incipientes conceptione Mü2 || sumamus] sumpsimus L, sumimus L2 || exordium] initium Bn, ordinem Bd

Unknown (epitome or main text?)

[7] noxia carnis] carnis noxia Mü4

Royal 8.C.vi

[7] *om.* R

APPENDIX IV
The Passion of St Katherine in a pen-and-ink drawing



Plate 8 –Pastedown inside back-cover, Melk Stiftsbibliothek 582, c. 1300.

This delightful Katherine-‘cycle’ is in stark contrast to cycles depicting her Passion found in medieval illuminated manuscripts.¹ The manuscript it is preserved in contains nothing that would indicate a reason for its presence. It is a witness to Robert Kildwardby’s (d. 1279) *In Priscianum minorem* and a few grammatical and other notes (incl. the Greek alphabet and the planets) on fol. 160v-162.² From the episodes of Katherine’s Passion depicted here it is impossible to determine the textual model. Glaßner refers to it as a fragment which makes it likely that it was drawn to accompany a Katherine-related text. The epitome BHL 1661m is preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript from Melk (Melk 222), and a yet unidentified epitome is contained in Melk 1706. There may perhaps be a link.³

The illustrator has squeezed the main events of Katherine’s Passion onto one single folio. It has been divided into five sections, to be read from top to bottom, and left to right. The captions which identify the protagonists and scenes have been written above the person to be identified; some are written sideways.

In the first row Jesus (*Iesus Christus*) is sitting on a throne. On his right stands a saint (identified by a halo) stretching out his hands towards him; behind him someone else is stretching out his hands. Also two more persons (male) sitting on thrones. In the second row the emperor Maxentius (*Maxencius imperator*) is sitting on his throne; he is wearing a crown, is holding a staff in his right hand and offering a ‘globe’ with his left to Katherine (*Sancta Katerina*) who is standing on his left. She has a halo, and is wearing a cloak. On her left stands a soldier (no identification), who is holding a sword tucked under his left arm, and is grasping Katherine’s back with his right arm. Behind him an idol (*ydolum*) stands on a raised podium. It has a curled tail and nose, and wild hair. In its right hand it holds a shield, and, tucked under its left hand, a sword. Three idol-worshippers (*cultores ydoli*) are kneeling with upraised hands towards the idol. In the third row Katherine (*Sancta Katerina*), wearing

¹ See, for example, Helmut Engelhart, *Die Würzburger Buchmalerei im Hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu einer Gruppe illuminierter Handschriften aus der Werkstatt der Würzburger Dominikanerbibel von 1246*, (1987). Engelhart examines a psalter (München Clm 3900) which contains a 12-picture cycle on Katherine on fol. 1v-7.

² Glaßner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes*, p. 255-56.

³ The drawing of Katherine’s bust in Melk 516 could be further evidence for an interest in Katherine at the monastery. It is likely that there are drawings of her in other manuscripts – not every library has yet been catalogued as carefully as that of Melk (the images of Glaßner’s catalogue are freely available on the internet: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/ksbm/melk/inv1/index.htm>)

a crown inside her halo, is arguing with the philosophers. There are ten philosophers (*[philo]soph[.]*). Mirroring St Katherine, the emperor (*Maxencius*) is sitting on his throne. Again, he is holding a staff and a 'globe', this time in opposite hands. The fourth row has been divided into two sections by a column in the middle. The left panel depicts the torture of the philosophers (*hic cruciantur philosophi*). A guard is dragging a philosopher towards the pyre, depicted by several logs of wood on which one philosopher is sitting (uncomfortably, presumably). Another five philosophers are standing around the pyre. The right panel depicts the destroyed wheel and four pagans (one with a cup in his hand) sinking into the ground to indicate their going to hell (*hic orante sancta Katherine dissipatur machina rotalis et pereunt gentiles*). Next to this Katherine, pushed by a guard from behind, is stretching out her hands towards the scene. The fifth row is divided into three scenes by two columns; two of the scenes are damaged, perhaps deliberately. The first depicts the execution of the queen (*hic decollatur regina uxor Maxentius*): the queen seems to be holding her head in her hands. In the next, Porphyrius is about to be beheaded (*Porphyrius*). The third scene depicts Katherine's decapitation (*hic decollatur sancta Kathe[rina]*). In all of these three scenes, a semi-circle shape is suspended from the ground-line above. Feet can be seen to be dangling out of these shapes, perhaps an image of the executed being taken up into heaven. In the last scene, a hand points out of the semi-circle shape, probably the hand of God.

Judging from the execution of the drawing we have here a not very skillful attempt at depicting the main episodes of Katherine's Passion. For example, the ground-line are not always level and there is no interest in variation of garments. At the same time, we note that Katherine, Maxentius, and Jesus are the only figures positioned frontally; everyone else has been drawn in profile. Two different shades of red have been used to emphasis details rather than colour in empty parts.

While the expert may view this drawing as not much more than an unskilful depiction of Katherine's Passion, the reader of her martyrdom – along with the author of this study – can find real pleasure in noticing the many details that make this drawing so enjoyable. The curly tail and wild hair of the idol, the variation of hats worn by the philosophers, and the facial expressions of the figures cannot fail to make one smile.

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